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A CLIMATE OF CHANGE, COMMUNITY ACTION IN NEW HAVEN.

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COMMUNITY PROGRESS, INC. A NONPROFIT COMMUITY ACTION CORPORATION WAS ESTABLISHED IN NEW HAVEN CONNECTICUT, IN 1962, WITH A THREE YEAR FORD FOUNDATION GRANT. IT HAS UNDERTAKEN PROGRAMS OF EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION, AND SOCIAL SERVICES, EMPHASIZING INVOLVEMENT WITH THE POOR ON A CLOSE, INFORMAL, NEIGHBORHOOD BASIS. SOCIAL, VOCATIONAL, HEALTH, EDUCATIONAL, LEGAL, AND RECREATIONAL NEEDS ARE SERVED BY COMMUNITY SCHOOLS OPEN 14 TO 16 HOURS DAILY, AND BY NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS. MAJOR ACTIVITIES CONDUCTED INCLUDE MIDDLE-SKILL TECHNICAL TRAINING, FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION, GENERAL VOCATIONAL TRAINING, COUNSELING FOR ADULTS AND RECENT SCHOOL DROPOUTS, AND CULTURAL ENRICHMENT FOR PRESCHOOL AND SCHOOL CHILDREN. (DOCUMENT INCLUDES REVIEW OF EARLIER URBAN RENEWAL AND ANTIPOVERTY EFFORTS IN NEW HAVEN, AN OULINE OF COMMUNITY PROGRESS, INC., OPERATING DIVISIONS AND LIAISON WITH OTHER AGENCIES, AND GENERAL DISCUSSION OF ACHIEVEMENTS.) (LY)

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a climate of change

THE NEW HAVEN STORY

by gregory farrell

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A Climate of Change

Community Action in New Haven

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A Foreword to the CPI Story

This is the story of a war on poverty started by the City of New Haven more than two years before the enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act. It is that, and a good deal more. The story focuses on how New Haven, through Community Progress, Inc., has been trying to raise the life prospects of the culturally and economically disadvantaged segment of its population. As the story unfolds, however, it becomes clear that it is as much a report on the revitalization of a community as on the enrichment of the educational and economic prospects of the less fortunate fraction of its members. In organizing for a massive attack on the roots of poverty, all segments of the community have discovered new dimensions of citizenship and begun to justify a new hope for the future of the declining older urban centers of America. They are testing new channels of communication and methods of cooperation among organizations, groups and institutions that have tended too long to go their own separate ways. And they have made significant progress toward achieving an old goal of traditional American progressivism: the school as a focus for a variety of community activities for young and old, day and night, the year around.

This report should be an inspiration to people in many other communities, for the work of Community Progress, Inc., has already proved to be a model for community-action programs under the Economic Opportunity Act in many places. At the same time, it may give some readers a sense of frustration as they wonder just how many elements in the New Haven equation must be put together in order to achieve a similar result in another community. There can be no doubt that luck, purpose and commitment, articulated and translated into action by dynamic local leadership, are essential. But let any citizen in another city who wonders how these local ingredients can be assembled ask how many people a generation ago would have picked New Haven as the city most likely to lead the country in the demonstration of the potential in both the physical and the economic and human aspects of urban renewal.

The story demonstrates that it would be difficult or impossible for a city to do what New Haven has done entirely by itself. In New Haven's case, the outside help which came initially from the Ford Foundation is now coming increasingly from various parts of the federal government. National, if not foundation, assistance can be expected to be available in the future to any community capable of a convincing demonstration of local need, initiative and earnestness. Urban renewal — physical, economic and human — is not an enterprise that a single city can be expected to undertake solely on its own resources. This is because the national social and economic order has so developed that resources essential to renewal are beyond the reach of the individual city.

On the other side of the coin, New Haven has demonstrated the vital contribution that can be made by the local community to the development, adaptation and successful execution of programs related to national goals. Certainly, CPI's contribution to manpower development and employment has made the programs of the State Employment Service and the national Office of Manpower and Training more meaningful in New Haven than in some other cities. In like manner, the community school program will surely provide a superior medium for achieving many of the goals of the new federal educational programs now emerging.

This report was prepared by Greg Farrell on the basis of extensive on-the-spot observations and interviews, supplemented by a study of the pertinent records. He consulted with members of the staff of the Urban Studies Center from time to time.

John E. Bebout
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August, 1965

1. A CLIMATE OF CHANGE

This is a story about how one city began the War on Poverty two years before it was officially declared.

The city is New Haven, Connecticut, and it is a city with certain advantages. It has within its industrial borders the tone and style and intelligence and influence of Yale University. It has — and has had for over ten years — a mayor of vision and uncommon energy and remarkable political and persuasive powers named Richard C. Lee. And in 1962, it formed a nonprofit corporation which set about trying to open the doors of opportunity for the city's substantial numbers of poor, with a three-year grant of $2,500,000 wisely planted there by the Ford Foundation.

The corporation called itself Community Progress, Incorporated, and now that poverty has been officially, popularly discovered in America and war has been declared, New Haven's CPI has become a prototype for action. All over the country, the antipoverty forces are gathering; in Washington, under Sargent Shriver; in cities and counties throughout the country, to fight the good fight.

But how do you begin? How do you fight poverty? What weapons do you use, and how do you use them? Where do you find your recruits? Where are the experts in the poverty-fighting business?

A lot of them are in New Haven, working for CPI. They are the first to protest that they have only begun, that they have barely made a dent in New Haven's poverty, because of the isolation and the lack of opportunity that confront a large number of the people who live in this city.

But visitors stream in from other cities, at a rate of more than a thousand a year for visits of one day or several, "to see how it's done," because they have heard that it *is* being done here. And in the new office building in Washington that is home for the Office of Economic Opportunity, and in hundreds of cities throughout the country, people refer you again and again to New Haven's CPI as an example of how an antipoverty program can be made to work.

This is the record, then, of two years of action in New Haven. It is at least a partial answer to the question of how you begin the fight.

A Typical New England City

New Haven began 325 years ago with Yankee settlers and friendly Indians and a town plan that provided for nine regularly laid out squares and a green. Eli Whitney started a gun factory here late in the 18th century, and other factories and industries (hardware, firearms, locks, bird cages, corsets, cigars) sprang up during the 19th and the early decades of the 20th, taking advantage of the harbor and the efficient railroad. Waves of Irishmen and Italians, Germans and Russian Jews and Poles, and most lately, of Negroes, moved here to work in the factories and in the service trades that grew around them. Most of them settled in the center of the city, where the homes were old and the rents were low.

New Haven is a typical middle-sized industrial city. Older than most, more predominantly Catholic than most, graced unlike most with a great university; but typical, nevertheless, and the typical things happened.

The well established families, the Yankees and then some of the Irish, Italians, Jews, and Germans who had changed their blue collars for white ones, moved farther and farther away from the center of town, and, eventually into suburbs like Hamden and West Haven.

Automobiles and trucks clogged New Haven's old downtown, but they were fine for the broad streets and highways of the suburbs, and New Haven's businessmen looked to the shopping centers and the suburban malls, and some of them moved away, following the people. Industries, too — the bulwark of New Haven's economic base both in tax revenue and in jobs, housed in antiquated buildings, needing more room and cheaper land and easier access — also began to move away, and the inner city acquired an empty look, an aspect of dinginess and grayness. New Haven's population, which had been up to 164,443 in 1950, began to decrease in the face of an unprecedented nationwide population boom. By 1960, there would be just 152,048 New Havenites.

Some of the emptiness was filled by the poor — mostly Negroes from the South, uneducated, unskilled, largely unwanted. Their presence helped drive the well-to-do and the middle classes farther away, faster. The dingy neighborhoods and crumbling buildings the Negroes moved into got steadily worse, and their social and physical needs put an unaccustomed drain on the city's welfare funds. The slum areas they helped perpetuate cost the city twice as much in services as they brought in taxes, and the city had less with which to serve their needs than ever before.

Urban Renewal

In 1949, the Federal Government passed a housing act which provided a billion dollars in loans and half a billion in grants to cities like New Haven to encourage them to begin the enormous task of rebuilding. In 1954, the act was expanded and liberalized.

There were few cities in the United States that looked up from their heads-down battles with deterioration and poverty — and the city budget — to see in the federal carrot more than a stopgap measure. But New Haven Alderman Richard C. Lee caught hold of the idea of "building a better city" as though it were a vision and made it an issue in his campaign for Mayor in 1953. He was elected, and thereafter "building a better city" became the gut issue of every Lee campaign — in 1955, 1957, 1959, 1961, 1963. New Haven has compressed more change into the ten years since Lee took office than in any comparable period in the city's long history.

The first purpose of the new Mayor's redevelopment programs was to rebuild the economic base of the city. He wanted a new, vibrant downtown. He had to keep the remaining businesses and industries from moving out; he hoped to attract new ones. He had to convince the people already there and the people he wanted to come there that New Haven was looking up, that the city had a future as well as a past.

He created a Citizens' Action Commission, a large-membership organization of business and civic leaders, to lend redevel-

A CPI work crew at New Haven's Bowen Field.

opment broad non-partisan community support, and to preempt the center of any conservative resistance. And he beefed up the Redevelopment Agency with the best bright young men he could find. Realizing the need for coordination and a unified effort, he created the post of Development Administrator (a kind of Deputy-Mayor-for-Redevelopment), and found a tough, imaginative, put-up-or-shut-up man named Edward Logue to fill it.

Project followed successful project: a new slum-clearing freeway to connect the Connecticut Turnpike and the Central Business District; 96 acres of Central Business District renewal; rebuilding the decayed waterfront and reclaiming marshland for light manufacturing, distributive, and service industries; and the widely-acclaimed rehabilitation of an old, deteriorating, largely Italian residential and light industrial neighborhood. Soon, in the local papers and national magazines, you could see pictures of Lee watching a tenement come down, pointing to a site for a new business or factory or department store, explaining the city as it was to be. Lee, Logue, and Company were not only superb planners of the city-to-be; they were super-salesmen as well, appearing with slides before countless business boards of directors. And they were strikingly successful. New Haven became famous as America's urban-renewal city, and Lee as America's urban-renewal mayor. By 1958, New Haven had attracted more federal urban-renewal dollars per citizen than any city in the country, and it still holds this lead.

The Uncovering of Poverty

But the tearing down and rebuilding revealed more than the willingness of business to move back to town and the opposition of those who were irritated with change and upset by delay. When the Oak Street slum was demolished, the 120 families who lived there thrust their miseries for the first time before the eyes of the city. It was more achingly obvious than ever that it would not be enough simply to provide housing and shelter and welfare payments. Furthermore, the economic and physical renewal of the city would not cut substantially into the problems of New Haven's poverty population. But there was no city machinery, no budget, to provide more and to complement physical renewal. This was the role Community Progress, Inc., was to play.

Drive or walk through New Haven and you can see that poverty sits in abrupt blotches, separated and bordered by the soaring architecture of Yale, the luxury apartments, the motor-age buildings downtown, the old substantial areas that have kept themselves up. But poverty comes in concentrated form. When you decipher the maze of census figures, you come up with the unsurprising fact that in New Haven, unemployment and low income and a concentration of Negroes and lack of education, houses that are falling apart and mental and physical illness, unskilled workers and overcrowding and trouble with the police are all packed and rubbing against each other in the same neighborhoods.

Early Efforts

There were early efforts to do something about it. In 1957 the city had set up a program in Dixwell, a sprawling, largely residential, largely Negro area adjacent to some of Yale's startling new buildings. The Dixwell program, which operated out of Winchester School and the Dixwell Community House, cost the city about $30,000 a year and included, on an after-school basis, adult education (literacy), ballet, sports, games and roller skating (with some controversy about what it would do to the gym floor). The emphasis was recreation and the use of leisure time. The financing was shoestring. But one of the key ideas of New Haven's human-renewal program—the use of the school by the entire community at odd times of the day and night — was born here.

Mayor Lee, aware of the paucity of playgrounds, the lack of opportunity for the city's children to play and develop their bodies, had approached the Ford Foundation with a plan to tie the city's recreation facilities together with a physical-fitness program. But Ford, thinking the idea wasn't comprehensive enough, wasn't interested.

The Mayor and his redevelopment staff then began to make more and more comprehensive plans for the human and social needs of New Haven citizens.

The New Haven climate of change, the receptivity and eagerness, were born partially of frustration and the awareness that that city was **not** meeting and did not have the resources to meet these needs. The Mayor had tried to get the Housing Authority to provide counseling services for the Oak Street relocatees, and when that failed, he squeezed a single social worker into the city budget. But, he says now, "One social worker was totally inadequate. All her time was taken up handing out food and clothing and she never could really work with the families."

Education and Redevelopment

The public schools were caught in the same close-fisted struggle. In many deteriorating neighborhoods, the most depressing structures were the schools. Drab, ugly, factory-like, many of them had been built before the turn of the century, and they had not held their years with grace. Fastened inside these obsolete fortresses, the teachers and principals and children fought a battle of inches. Each year the superintendent would try to work into the budget just one more guidance counselor, just 20¢ more per pupil for library books. Each year the budget would come back and those items would be cut. There was no money to deal with the special educational needs of the poor. "The ghetto school was growing up right under our noses," one longtime teacher remembers now.

But Lee had begun to appoint people to the Board of Education who were responsive to his climate of change. When Development Administrator Ed Logue suggested to the board that a comprehensive study of New Haven's schools be undertaken, they agreed, and engaged Cyril G. Sargent, then a professor at Harvard's Graduate School of Education, to do the job.

The Sargent report, completed in 1961, recommended that 14 of New Haven's 40 schools be torn down, that three others be abandoned, that 15 new ones be built, and that they be integrated with urban renewal and neighborhood improvement. By

A work crew at the Brewster estate.

tying in the new construction with urban renewal, Sargent pointed out, the city could save a third of the cost. Sargent further recommended that a change in the organization of the school system be made: from 6-3-3- to K-4-4-4. The intermediate (5-8) schools, he proposed, should be "community schools." They should serve as recreational facilities for all citizens of the neighborhoods, centers for adult education, the neighborhood locus of social services, and neighborhood centers for social action. Sargent's proposals were unanimously adopted by the Board of Education and the city set about floating some $15 million in bonds for the new schools.

At this point, not only the Mayor's office, the Redevelopment Agency, and the Community Council, but the schools as well, were involved in redevelopment and renewal. And in diverse ways, they came together to plan for the *new* New Haven.

Ford Foundation and "Opening Opportunities"

Mayor Lee and Logue were in touch with Paul Ylvisaker, Director of the Ford Foundation's public affairs program. They knew Ford was considering funding a few community development, demonstration cities — cities that could enlist the political and technical muscle needed to put it over. New Haven was such a city, and Community Progress, Inc. was to be the demonstration agency.

New Haven had been ahead of much of the rest of the country in the development of its physical-renewal programs. It had a reputation for imagination, innovation, proficiency. The Mayor, the Board of Education, the physical planners and the social agencies were already working hand in hand. All that was lacking was a comprehensive plan, sufficient resources, and the organization to administer them.

So school people, redevelopment people, social-agency representatives, assistants to the Mayor, and occasional visitors from business and labor began to hammer out a plan. The prospect of the Ford Foundation grant made it practical, and the atmosphere Lee created kept it imaginative and exciting.

There were lots of ideas. One planner remembers now: "We couldn't agree on basic philosophy, but we could agree on concrete programs." Ideas led to drafts of a document called "Opening Opportunities." The program was first presented to the Ford Foundation in September, 1961. The Foundation was interested; its response was positive, crisp, businesslike: "Now, let's get down to brass tacks."

Some of the brass tacks were contained in two of Ford's questions: What was the political situation, and what kind of organization did New Haven have to put the program over?

Founding of Community Progress

New Haven's response was Community Progress, Inc., a non-profit corporation with a small but broadly representative citizen board. Three of its members were to be appointed by the Mayor, and one each by the Redevelopment Agency, the Board of Education, the Community Council, the United Fund, the Citizens' Action Commission, and Yale University. It would be non-governmental, free from civil service and municipal budgetary requirements, yet close to the sources of power. Its existence would not be dependent upon the political fortunes of any particular administration.

Ford had some suggestions about the program. More meetings, more drafts of "Opening Opportunities." By April 1962, the final version was ready, and in that month the Foundation announced a three-year, $2,500,000 grant to New Haven and Community Progress, Inc., for a comprehensive community-development program.

The final version of the CPI program, which in substance was very much like the earlier versions, had four major unifying ideas:

(1) It would aim at the six poorest neighborhoods, in the center of the city (55 percent of the population, 83 percent of the city's Negroes).

(2) It would be brought "to the people" on a decentralized, neighborhood basis.

(3) It would make the schools into neighborhood centers, "community schools," where employment, health, social, educational, legal and recreational services and opportunities would be available to the community 14 to 16 hours of the day. The bulk of CPI's efforts would be poured into these centers.

(4) It would concentrate on employment and education — "opportunity-connected" programs.

These four basic ideas have governed CPI's programs ever since. They have meant involvement with the poor on a close, informal, neighborhood basis. They have meant the centering of great attention on the schools, as the pivotal institution in the society. New Haven's approach to the problems of the people has been that of opening self-help opportunities, both education and employment, to the disadvantaged rather than intensive casework services for deep-seated social problems which, as one CPI staff member said, "other agencies are set up to handle better than we could anyway."

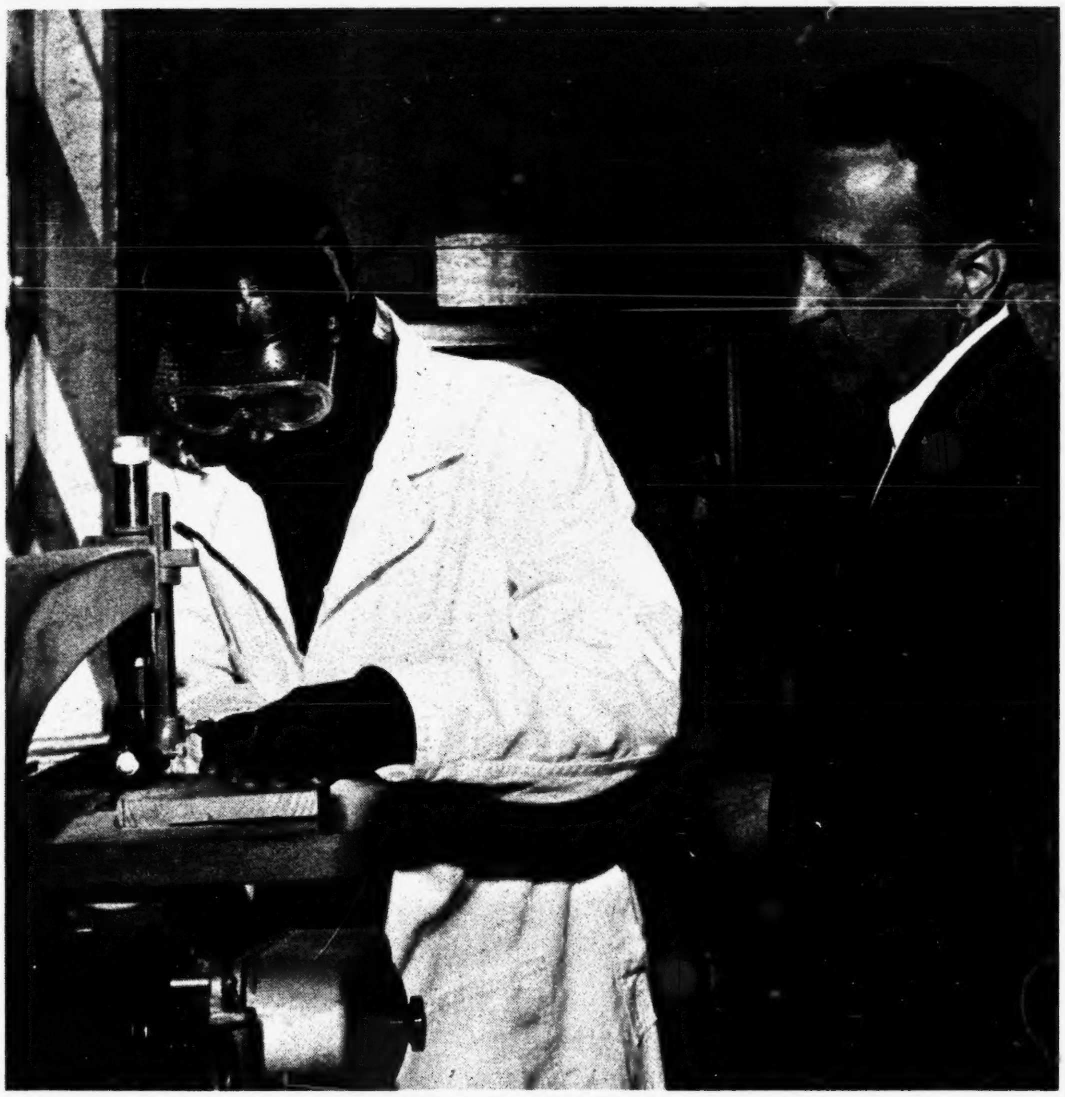
"Opening Opportunities" was the title of the original plan and CPI has been trying to live up to that title for over two years. One school teacher expressed it in these words: "We've been trying to help these people find their way out of the Land of Sorrow so they can see for themselves what the good life is all about."

2. ORGANIZING FOR ACTION

Community Progress, Inc., is variously described as a coordinating agent, a catalyst, a solicitor and distributor of funds, and a force for innovation and reform. It is also an organization of people — about 200 of them now.

Formal Organization of CPI

More than 100 CPI employees come from inner city New Haven, and most of these work in close personal contact with the people in the programs. CPI programs and the people they serve are in direct contact. The CPI staff is made up of people



A trainee prepares to qualify for a job at the Skill Center operated by CPI.

from various backgrounds — social workers, teachers, lawyers, shop workers, ADC mothers, businessmen, and ex-labor leaders — all brought together by an idea and a new approach, and all now working not as "professionals" but generalists. They come as bright young men just out of graduate school, or with seasoning in business, government, the labor movement, teaching, or social work. Most come from New Haven, but some come from Chicago, Washington, D.C., Cleveland, and Cape Kennedy. Among them are practical men, idealists, skeptics, operators, negotiators, philosophers, and technicians. They share at least two major characteristics: a desire to act, to get things done, and an impatience with ideologies and dogma of all stripes.

CPI staff members work in a sprawling, noisy, central office on Orange Street downtown (two blocks from City Hall), or in the neighborhoods, the streets, the community schools, and the neighborhood employment centers where CPI focuses its programs. Top-level staffers work in both places, while the other workers stay largely in their own neighborhoods.

A community enterprise has the fortunate effect of bringing all the city's specialists together — social workers and recreation department employees mix with teachers; vocational counselors and neighborhood workers mix with employment service specialists. And CPI has been able to catalyze and mobilize the best planning and action efforts of these specialists. They have seized upon the new opportunity to make their own unique contributions to New Haven's war on poverty.

Despite their diversity, one set of attitudes holds all these individuals together — a sense of new movement and innovation, and a feeling that what they are doing is actually *working*. They realize that *anybody* can *have* a good idea but that the important thing is to get the idea operating and to see how it works.

Mike Sviridoff and his Staff

Mike Sviridoff runs CPI. His ideas, his attitudes, his style permeate the organization. The CPI staff finds it difficult to think of the organization without him — or someone just like him. Sviridoff, 46, short, solidly built, soft spoken, and dark haired, is a native New Havener who graduated from a local high school, went to trade school and became an aircraft sheet metal worker. At 26, Mike Sviridoff became president of the biggest union in Connecticut. He moved on to the presidency of the Connecticut CIO, to the presidency of the New Haven Board of Education, and then, seeking broader areas of responsibility, to the State Department Alliance for Progress program. The challenge of forming a new instrument for attacking the causes of poverty on a broad front brought him back to New Haven.

A poised and sophisticated man, he carries in his speech the blunt pragmatism of his labor background and the ability to articulate issues in broad strokes and bright colors. He likes talking to people, and he does a lot of it. He negotiates. He operates. He is the man the wheeler-dealers — foundation, federal, state, local — can deal with; he is the can-do guy, the man they **trust** to deliver the goods. It's a well-known but seldom repeated adage that federal grants and foundation grants are given not on the basis of beautifully documented proposals, but on the degree of trust the grantors have in the man who is going to put their money to use. For CPI, Mike Sviridoff is that man.

Within the organization he determines operating policy: what to do now, what to do later, how to go about doing it. He prods, checks, keeps up with the programs. "If Mike has 10 minutes between appointments," one CPI worker said, "he'll be around the office, talking to people, asking how this is going, how that's going. And he'll have ideas about whatever program you're working on. Damned good ideas, too. When he talks to you, you know he's thought the thing out."

Howard Hallman, recently departed as Deputy Director to undertake new responsibilities in community development, is a different sort of man. Fully ten years younger than Sviridoff, he grew up in Kansas and began a career in local government. This took him to Philadelphia before he came to New Haven's Redevelopment office, where he became chief architect of "Opening Opportunities," CPI's plan for community action. In drafting the document, Hallman drew upon the expertise and experience of several men who have played large roles in both the physical and human aspects of New Haven renewal — among them Development Administrator L. Thomas Appleby, who succeeded Logue, Redevelopment Agency executive director Harold Grabino, and a number of members of the Agency staff. But it was Hallman who pulled the ideas together and created the overall plan for CPI. He was CPI's principal social planner and technician, its proposal writer par excellence. If Mayor Lee provided the atmosphere in which CPI could take shape, and Mike Sviridoff the operating know-how that could make it work, Howard Hallman was the man who chiefly developed the substance, purpose and organization.

The administrative setup of CPI includes Sviridoff, a director of administration, central office secretaries, bookkeepers, and finance personnel, two or three people who try to explain CPI to visitors and the reading public, a handful of administrative assistants who move from project to project, and May White, former assistant superintendent of New Haven schools, who serves as educational consultant. Miss White's job is largely liaison. About 25% of the money CPI handles or solicits for New Haven goes into education programs, but the New Haven Board of Education has exclusive administrative control over both the money and the programs.

Operating Divisions

The heads of the four operating divisions (Manpower, Neighborhood Services, Program Development and Training, and Research) also work out of the CPI central office. On an organization chart, the four divisions appear as four separate areas of responsibility. The real world is a lot less neat and a great deal more interesting. Administratively, CPI is divided in two ways: by program-function and by geography. The Manpower Division, for instance, is concerned with training programs, with job-development, and therefore with people—those who enter training and take the jobs as they develop. Recruiting, follow-up, and getting people ready to take advantage of training programs, however, are organized on a neighborhood basis. The

A homemaking class for mothers at the Prince Street School in New Haven.

neighborhoods are the province of the Neighborhood Services Division, which also helps to recruit people for the education programs — adult literacy and pre-kindergarten, for example — and tries to tie both education and employment services together in the neighborhoods.

Then there are programs-in-the-making which do not quite fit into any neighborhood setup, and are not really education (the schools do not take them over), nor are they employment (the Manpower Division does not take them over). These mobile programs become the province of the Program Development and Training Division, which in addition is a sort of plugger-of-gaps and worker-with-social-agencies. The fact is that nearly everyone at CPI is involved in some way with developing new programs.

The Research Division runs perhaps the most separate operation, primarily because most of its projects are fairly long-range. The nuts-and-bolts operational research each division needs in order to keep track of itself — how many people in this program, what kind of people, where did they come from, what happened to them — is done by each division under the guidance of the Program Analysis Division.

By and large, however, the divisions find themselves, by virtue of the interlocking nature of the problem and the two kinds of organization, interested in one another's business. It is an administrative structure that works well, but it depends more on relationships among people than it does on rigidly drawn lines of authority.

A clear bias in CPI's emphasis is shown by the size of the four operating divisions. Manpower, whose programs get over one-third of the funds handled or solicited by CPI, employes over 70 people. Neighborhood Services employs over 50, almost all of whom are indigenous field workers.

Visitors

Wandering purposefully in and out of the central office and the neighborhood operations are the visitors — now coming, five days a week, at a rate of a thousand a year. They are the planning directors, the school superintendents and principals, the welfare directors and social-agency heads, the priests, ministers, and rabbis, the employment people from Toledo, Trenton, Phoenix, Washington, and New York — all come to see for themselves how it is done in New Haven. Sometimes they stay for a day, sometimes for three. They talk with Sviridoff, then go out to visit a community school, a neighborhood employment center, a work-crew. The CPI staff likes having the visitors; their presence is testimony to New Haven's success so far, and it is, after all, a **demonstration** project. They don't complain: but sometimes they comment wistfully that it does take a great deal of time, just showing people around.

Neighborhood Services

Recruits for the opportunity programs in education and employment are provided chiefly through the Neighborhood Services Division, of which Milton Brown is director. A Negro social worker with 30 years' experience in his field, Brown happily finds himself on the same side as City Hall for the first time.

Brown's staff includes neighborhood workers, neighborhood coordinators, and school-community relations workers. They are the points of contact with the neighborhoods. Most of them live in the neighborhoods they work in, and besides recruiting for the opportunity programs they encourage the development of local leadership and citizen participation in community projects. For example, a nearly-defunct school P.T.A. was revitalized through the process of reorganizing its programs around neighborhood problems. Because their main jobs are recruiting for opportunity programs and encouraging citizen participation, they try to avoid getting bogged down in detailed and time-consuming social casework. But they can't always avoid this.

"What do you do when you get a problem you're not set up to handle?" one of the neighborhood workers said. "You get the person to talk. You listen. You give advice. You try to get a private social agency to give help (they can't, too many cases already) or a public agency (they can't, they're not set up to do casework). You get a lawyer for him if he needs a lawyer, a doctor, maybe, or a nurse. You get Redevelopment to inspect housing-code violations, you try to get Welfare to give him extra money if he needs it for a crisis situation. You try to get him through the maze."

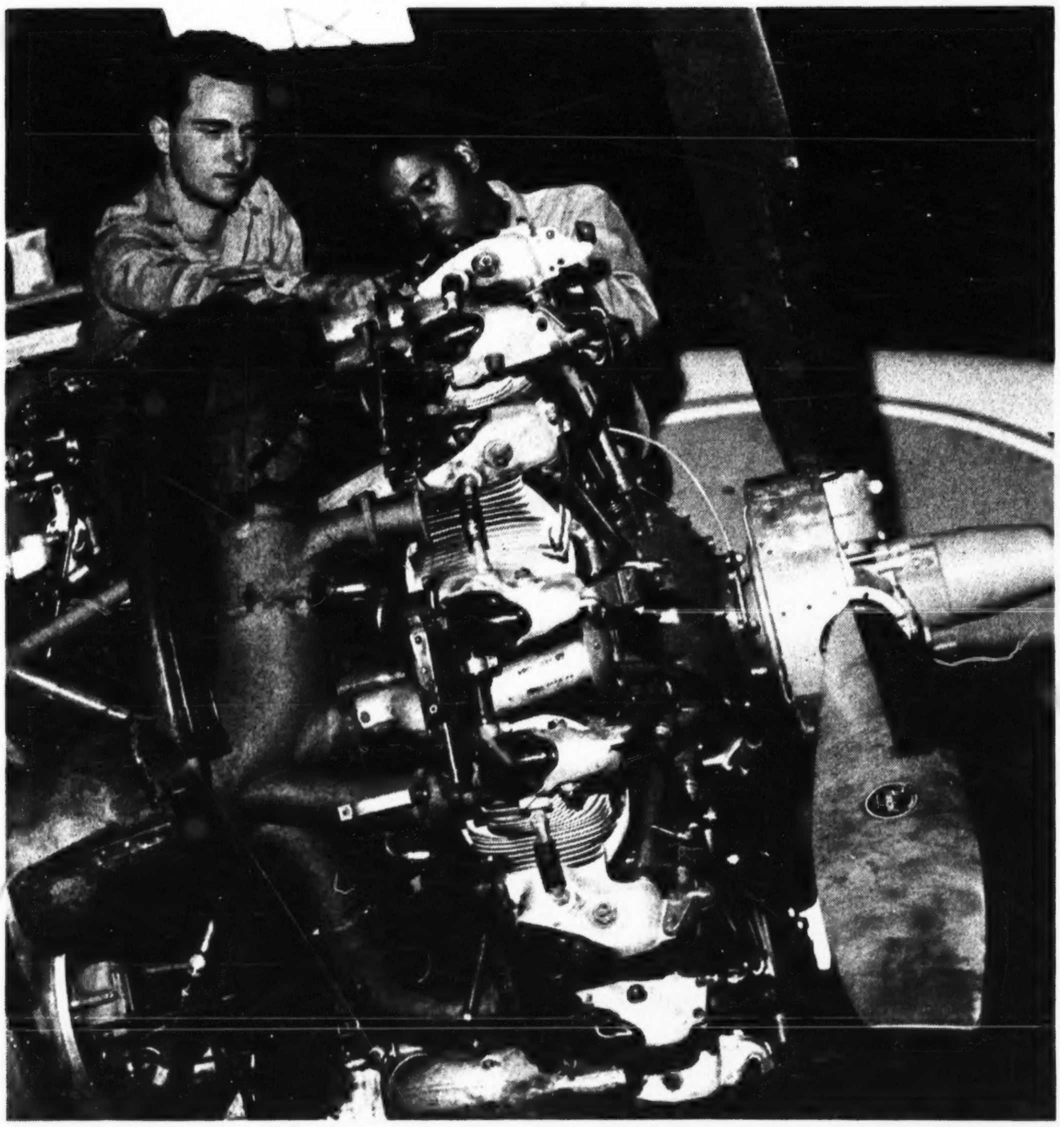
One of the big problems, Brown says, is over-involvement with the personal problems of individual families. "This is not a social-work operation," he says. "We aren't set up to do casework. It's a cruel decision to make, but we have to concentrate on the people we can help to take advantage of employment and education opportunities, and we can't spend as much time with the families who have deep-seated psychological problems."

Originally, it was thought that Neighborhood Services could be responsible for organizing the existing social-work agencies in the neighborhoods, and they tried this for a time, calling the agencies together for case conferences in crisis situations. But it didn't work. The agencies were already overloaded with cases. They had no space to work in; nor did they have the men or money to do the extra job.

CPI is getting at this one through a new organization called Unified Social Services, which will be funded under the Economic Opportunity Act. This will be a joint enterprise of CPI, Redevelopment, Housing, the Community Council and the City Director of Administration. Plans are to beef up the existing social services of these and other agencies so they will be able to provide additional services in the poverty areas. Social-service coordinators will operate with five to six social case workers and a couple of case aides in each neighborhood.

Other Action

Other things are happening. The New Haven police are running a course in human relations for new police trainees; an old supermarket has become a library neighborhood center; the housing code in New Haven is being more strictly enforced; the Boy Scouts are modifying their program to make it more relevant to inner city youngsters; the 4-H clubs are trying to find out how to adjust to an urban society; and one housing project,



An on-the-job trainee prepares to become an airplane mechanic in a CPI-sponsored training program.

containing 854 families — fully 3 percent of New Haven's total population — has become the target for a concerted organization of health, employment, education, recreation, and welfare services.

This last, a miniature community-action project, highly concentrated, is under the overall direction of the New Haven Housing Authority. Bernie Shiffman, head of CPI's Program Development and Training Division, is a consultant. The program involves the coordination of a full spectrum of private and public agencies — from the Yale Medical School to the Connecticut State Employment Service — and it is expected to be a kind of testing ground, a place to see just how much, how effectively agencies can change themselves to respond to people's needs, just how much good they can do if they *do* change. The Community Council, the State Welfare Department, the New Haven Health Department, the New Haven Housing Authority, and a host of other agencies are partners in the effort. It is being funded by a variety of programs under the bureaus of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Finances

Money is a necessary commodity for any city that wants to mount a community-action program. No American city has within its boundaries the financial resources it needs to combat poverty and its causes. To get things going, New Haven had to get money from outside sources. To help in getting money, it has to demonstrate the capacity to use it well. With CPI's help, it has been successful at both.

In about three years, from 1962 to 1965, about $8 million has gone into or been committed to New Haven's CPI-connected Community Action Program. New Haven sources (public and private) have put up from a half to three-quarters of a million of this, depending on how and what you count (whether, for instance, you include the part-time services of the superintendent of schools). The rest, or about $7.5 million, has come from the Ford Foundation and from four different departments of the U.S.

Government. CPI now talks about an annual budget of $4 million. Thus, community-action programs started during the last two years are spending about $26 a year for every resident of New Haven.

The CPI staff has developed skill at culling outside sources of financial help — particularly the Federal Government — but this, they say, would be so much froth had they not developed the competency to use the money well. CPI's reputation with the Federal Government is in fact such that it is often given money for demonstration projects in early stages — programs that still have to prove themselves — on the assumption that if they can be made to work at all, CPI will do it.

CPI directly administers slightly less than half of the total community-action resources. The rest of it either goes **through** CPI to other agencies, such as the Board of Education, or directly to other agencies, such as the State Employment Service, for programs that CPI has a hand in setting up.

The biggest chunks of the total so far — 37 percent and 25 percent — have gone into employment training and education; only 6 percent has gone into research; and 5 percent into administration. Most of the rest has gone into the neighborhood organizations that deliver recruits for the opportunity programs, follow them up, and keep in close touch with the needs of the people.

Ford's initial grant of $2.5 million provided the impetus, but once programs were actually under way and working, and once there were men on the CPI staff who could devote time to innovative uses of available funds, the flow became a steady thing, stimulated by and stimulating the increased competency of the organization itself. As Mike Sviridoff says, "Money is no longer a real problem with us."

3. MANPOWER IN ACTION

"The people we work with," says George Bennett, director of CPI's Manpower Division, "live in the inner city. They want jobs and training, and they need them. We're asking these people to measure up. They've got to deal with their problems as they are. Our candidates have to make it. And they do make it. The action is here. It is what it appears to be."

"Action" and "making it" are the key words. After just two years of operation, CPI is a symbol of hope and a model of tough-minded success in the seven poverty-pocked, inner city neighborhoods where it is working. With CPI's help, people from these neighborhoods, many of them long-term unemployed, are getting good jobs and holding them. With CPI's help, people from these neighborhoods (about one-half of whom are Negro) are getting access to kinds of jobs they never thought were open to them. And the word is out. "You can get real good jobs at CPI . . . and they treat you nice." In the neighborhoods, in a year and a half, 4,000 people have come to CPI neighborhood employment centers looking for help. Eleven hundred have been placed directly in jobs; another 1100 have gone into training programs which CPI has helped to plan and conduct under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (MDTA). Nearly all of the training-program graduates have gone into training-related jobs within a few days of graduation.

Others, youngsters who weren't ready for training programs, who had no experience of consistent work, no recommendations (like a high school diploma, for instance), perhaps criminal records, deep-set feelings of alienation—these have found the beginnings of opportunity in "work crews." Work crews are groups of five or six who do hard, outdoor work four hours a day — a dollar an hour, $20 a week — under the close supervision of strong, able men who speak their language, know their problems. There are also a few girls' crews, organized the same way but stationed at libraries and hospitals. In the work crews, youngsters learn what it's like to show up for work every day, what it's like to do a job and be proud of it and have someone compliment them for it. There they can get work-training, reading and math in an atmosphere unreminiscent of the school they have flunked, or dropped, or been kicked out of. From there, when their work crew foreman thinks they are ready, they can move on to a training program, or perhaps directly into a job.

Trainees learn the operation of machine tools in an on-the-job situation.

Three neighborhood employment centers, serving a total of seven neighborhoods ("They should have been located in the schools, but there just wasn't room") bring the CPI Manpower operation close to its clients. The planned mix of professionals and non-professionals who staff them includes three full-time and five part-time neighborhood workers (people who live in the neighborhood and know it) who recruit candidates and introduce them and guide them through the sometimes confusing "process" that may be necessary in getting training or a job, who follow them up and keep in touch with them after they're placed. The secretaries are friendly. The atmosphere is open, bright, inviting. If people go in for a job interview dressed in a tie and coat or freshly-ironed dress, or if they go in dirty and ragged, they are treated as candidates, not as cases. In the neighborhoods, people know and trust CPI.

In Washington, people know and point to CPI as an example of the way federal programs can be made to work and federal money put to good use. "George Bennett," one Labor Department official recently told a meeting of communities seeking aid under the Antipoverty Act, "is the man who makes us — and our programs — look good."

Organizing Manpower Efforts

Three decisions made right at the beginning of CPI's Manpower effort are important to an understanding of its style and success:

(1) Manpower would be part of a broad neighborhood-services program, part of a process organized and delivered on a neighborhood level, brought close to the people as part of a broad "community commitment."

(2) It would have to begin with "success," which meant people from the inner city getting good jobs and holding them, thereby serving as models of inspiration to others in the neighborhood, models of reliability and competence to possible future employers.

(3) It was not to operate a special and separate project, but to serve as a partner with established institutions (Voca-

tional Education, Connecticut State Employment Service) in the community manpower effort.

There was no comprehensive plan. There was no assurance that an employment program could work with inner city people. There was no model to work from, no people with "experience in the field." No one knew whether or not employers would commit themselves to hiring CPI recruits; no one knew whether or not CPI could get the recruits once they had the jobs and the training programs. "We thought we could do it," Bennett says.

CPI Director Sviridoff, Manpower Director Bennett, and Vincent Sirabella, who works as Labor Specialist in the program while serving as president of New Haven's Central Labor Council, were convinced that access to good jobs could be a powerful force — perhaps the single most powerful force — in breaking the cycle of dependency, the habit of poverty, in the inner city. All three were committed by personality and background to the pragmatic, problem-solving approach (Sviridoff and Sirabella have spent most of their lives as labor leaders, and Bennett was a federal labor mediator for over ten years.) All of them understood the realities of the world of work. They knew employers and their problems. They knew the unions. They were impatient with theoretical arguments, fond of action, eager to get results. And it is in Manpower that CPI's stamp — the effect of its decisions, the style of its personnel — is most directly and clearly seen.

Middle Skill Programs

Eyes open to an acute sensitivity to status in the inner city, CPI promoted and assisted in setting up New Haven's first federally sponsored (MDTA) training programs in middle-skill occupations. Ten trainees were to become laboratory technicians at Olin-Mathieson; another 20, X-ray technicians; and Avco wanted about 20 draftsmen. These jobs, if not white collar, were at least white coat.

"The status of the job — in the inner city — is more important than it would be in normal circumstances," Manpower

Director Bennett says. "The only kind of work people here can usually get is hard, mean, miserable work, and they're extremely sensitive about it. We'd have trouble filling a custodial maintenance job, but the drafting thing, hell, illiterates and everybody came out for that."

The idea, then, was to start with the most solid and attractive kind of immediate success, and to organize it on a neighborhood level to tie in with the other things going on in and around the community school. The other key ingredient was to gain the cooperation of the State Employment Service and Division of Vocational Education. Manpower Director Bennett knew that if CPI's efforts were to be successful and if the new concepts were to take hold on a wide and permanent basis, these agencies had to be in the front lines of the action.

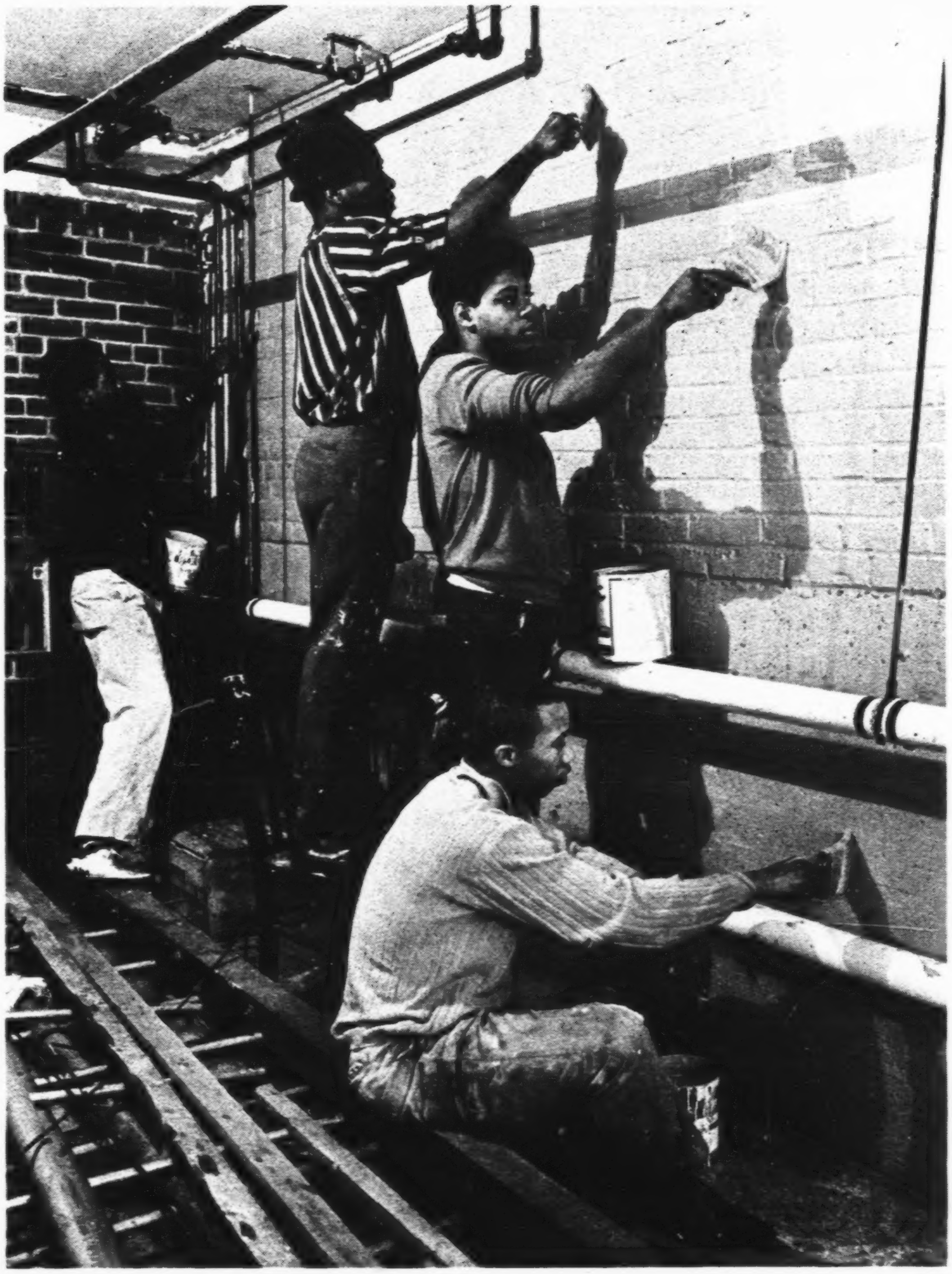
Employment Policy and Opportunities

The search for jobs, for potential employers and training, began in the fall of 1962. There was support at the top; Mayor Richard Lee's Committee on Retraining and Employment, created in November, got high-level representatives together from local and state vocational education, from the Connecticut State Employment Service, from employers and labor unions, from social agencies, the Urban League and CPI. Its job was to set employment policy, to help uncover employment possibilities. But Manpower Director Bennett and Labor Specialist Sirabella were the only staff in CPI's Manpower Division, and, as Bennett says, "It was a time of a million questions and no answers."

By the Spring of 1963, however, CPI had a $10,000 grant from the Department of Labor (Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training), the Olin and Avco middle-skill training programs were under way, and there were some answers to the questions.

Will employers commit themselves to inner city people? Will they hire dropouts?

"We found out employers will cooperate if you give them adequate protection," Bennett says. "We'd ask them just to take a good hard look at their standards — maybe they were arbitrary, maybe they didn't really meet their requirements. We



A work crew in action.

had to show them that whatever their requirements, these people would measure up. And then, when we got people out of there, out of the inner city, and into the programs, on the jobs, they got away from the notion there's no quality in there, no ability. By coming up with success in the inner city, we were able to change the whole notion about the inner city."

Working Committee

CPI calls together an ad hoc "working committee" to plan each training program. The prospective employer is in on it, along with the State Employment Service, State Vocational Education Division, the local Board of Education and labor unions when they are concerned. The employers define the jobs they have, and then in connection with the rest of the committee, go about figuring out just what the jobs demand, what the training program ought to teach, what tests are relevant. In some cases, prospective employers are in on the recruitment of the trainees. When they are tied in this way from the beginning, they know what they are getting, are assured that the training is tailored to their requirements. The courses the committees devise are practical, short, relevant to the needs and abilities of employers and trainees. The working committees proceed on the assumption that as one CPI staffer put it, "agencies, employers, and unions will pitch in and help if you tell them what you're doing and give them a chance to get involved in it."

Finding Candidates for Training

But how about the people in the inner city? Will they come out for the jobs? Will they deliver if you give them the chance?

"You can find the people. If they think the program *really* leads somewhere, they'll come . . . we haven't run out of people for programs. There's lots of talent in the inner city. They can take middle-skill programs . . . and each person who makes it affects the attitudes and the actions of lots of other people. If we place one Italian kid and he makes it in a good job, he's got about 30 relatives right in the neighborhood who know about it and talk about it and they support him and they support us, too."

But who gets selected for what jobs, and how? Is it fair to the disadvantaged people in the inner city to use the same objective tests (the GATB, or General Aptitude Test Battery, the regular tool of the State Employment Service) that are based on regular applicants?

In the New Haven program, CPI and the State Employment Service decided to test, to use the GATB, but to weigh its factors differently to provide maximum flexibility (ordinarily, if a candidate flunks any one of the GATB sections, he flunks the test, but CPI changed this). With the help of a testing consultant from the University of Maryland, CPI and the Employment Service began to use some special aptitude tests.

The consultant had essentially this view of the GATB: used alone, in its most inflexible form, it would disqualify many inner city people. And there was some doubt that it was the best standard for judging whether a person could be useful in certain very specific kinds of jobs. When setting up the first culinary program, according to the minutes of one meeting, the CPI staff "expressed the opinion that some parts of the test were not relevant to success as a cook or waiter. Mr. Sirabella, CPI Labor Specialist, expressed the view that most professional chefs and waiters would not score highly on these tests. He doubted his own ability to pass them, despite many years of service in the industry."

Another modification of the traditional way of selecting applicants stemmed from the belief that adequately trained school dropouts could be good employees, and one of the initial goals was to get employers to look beyond the arbitrary standard of the school record. "If you use school records alone to judge a high school dropout, you're going to say he can't do anything. School records are spotty, and they're not oriented to the types of youngsters who're going to drop out."

By the Spring of 1963, employers in New Haven were calling CPI to ask for aid in finding qualified employees, and "direct placement" joined the MDTA training programs in CPI's thin collection of employment possibilities. In the months of May, June, and July alone, CPI placed 50 candidates directly in jobs without the necessity of special training. A year later they placed 250 in the same three (slow employment) months.

With the first training programs under way, Bennett was able to write in May 1963: "It has now been demonstrated that barriers can be lowered, that 'status' (middle technical skill) jobs can be opened to people who did not formerly have access to them; it has been demonstrated that new techniques in recruitment (decentralization of effort), testing (special aptitude tests and weighing), rendering of supportive services (at the neighborhood level) and placement (prior employer commitment) combine to make a significant start toward the opening of economic opportunities."

Neighborhood Centers

In June, 1963, CPI signed a $116,000 contract* with OMAT which would finance the three neighborhood employment centers and pay for intensive counseling and recruitment services and the setting up of training programs for 400 16-21-year-olds.

The centers opened in late October. By then, CPI had put together a sizable Manpower staff, the State Employment Service had agreed to provide a placement interviewer for each center, plus a central job developer, nearly 200 men and women had been trained for middle-skill jobs, and CPI had handled enough youngsters to know that many needed something like a work-crew program to meet the problems which were keeping them out of jobs.

Work Crews

There were many young people who needed special help: high school dropouts and many with criminal records. They

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*With amendments, chiefly for on-the-job training, the total contract amount came to nearly $300,000.

A dancing class at Winchester School in New Haven's Dixwell neighborhood.

needed closely supervised work experience, a chance to work out their problems, a foundation for hope, a stake in society. There was no provision for giving it to them. "At that point," Bennett says, "OMAT wasn't thinking about work crews."

There were no MDTA funds at this time for the work-crew style of "prevocational training." Earlier, the Dixwell Community House had sponsored a small work-crew program (four crews) with private local funds. CPI decided to carry out the program on a larger scale. The City of New Haven put up some new funds for the program to pay the $20-a-week salaries of crew members who would work in city parks. And the Youth Department Grant for 1963-64 from the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency also contained some funds for the program.

The work crew idea worked so well (from the first crews, 30 percent moved on to regular jobs or training programs in the first three months; another 33 percent decided to go back to school) that OMAT became convinced that the work crew foremen were really "counselors" and that their salaries could be paid under the provisions of MDTA. OMAT accepted, too, the idea that the work crew's kind of prevocational training was after all part of the job-training process, and that crew members were, therefore, eligible for training stipends under the MDTA.

The Labor Department's acceptance of this program as a legitimate training activity illustrates one of the important ways an organization like CPI can innovate: by carrying on a continuous dialogue with the federal agency (OMAT); by describing aspects of the federal program which they were able to use; by pointing out shortcomings. In this way CPI was able to bring about a major and much-needed change in the way this legislation was implemented.

Basic Remedial Education

In June, 1964, basic remedial education became a formal part of the work crew week (three days a week, 1½ hours a day, 6-12 students to a class. By March 1965, there were four days a week, two hours a day.) The New Haven Board of Education has now provided an assistant professor of education to try to dope out what does and doesn't work in this school-out-of-school. She gets her teachers from a number of backgrounds (a Yale classics professor, a retired guidance counselor, an ex-seminary student, a CPI researcher), and is now trying to find or create suitable instructional materials. The average work-crew youngster reads at the fifth-grade level, but he has adult interests, and handing him an ordinary fifth-grade reader is an insult.

The best results so far seem to come from the entirely logical practice of teaching to the interests of the students. Math begins, then, with the pay check and only eventually gets into more abstract mysteries. ("Hey, Miss Derbyshire! Do you know that division is the opposite of multiplication? I figured that out today.")

Recently parents of work crew members have been invited to come together to talk about what is happening to their youngsters. The CPI neighborhood staffs are unanimously enthusiastic about the interest and the enthusiasm that has come out of the few work crew parents' meetings held so far. "We should have thought of this a long time ago," one neighborhood coordinator said. "If we'd gotten the parents into it before, we might have been able to go twice as far with the work crews." In addition CPI now has in the planning stage work crews for adults and intermediate work crews for youth with longer working hours, less supervision, larger groups.

Skill Center

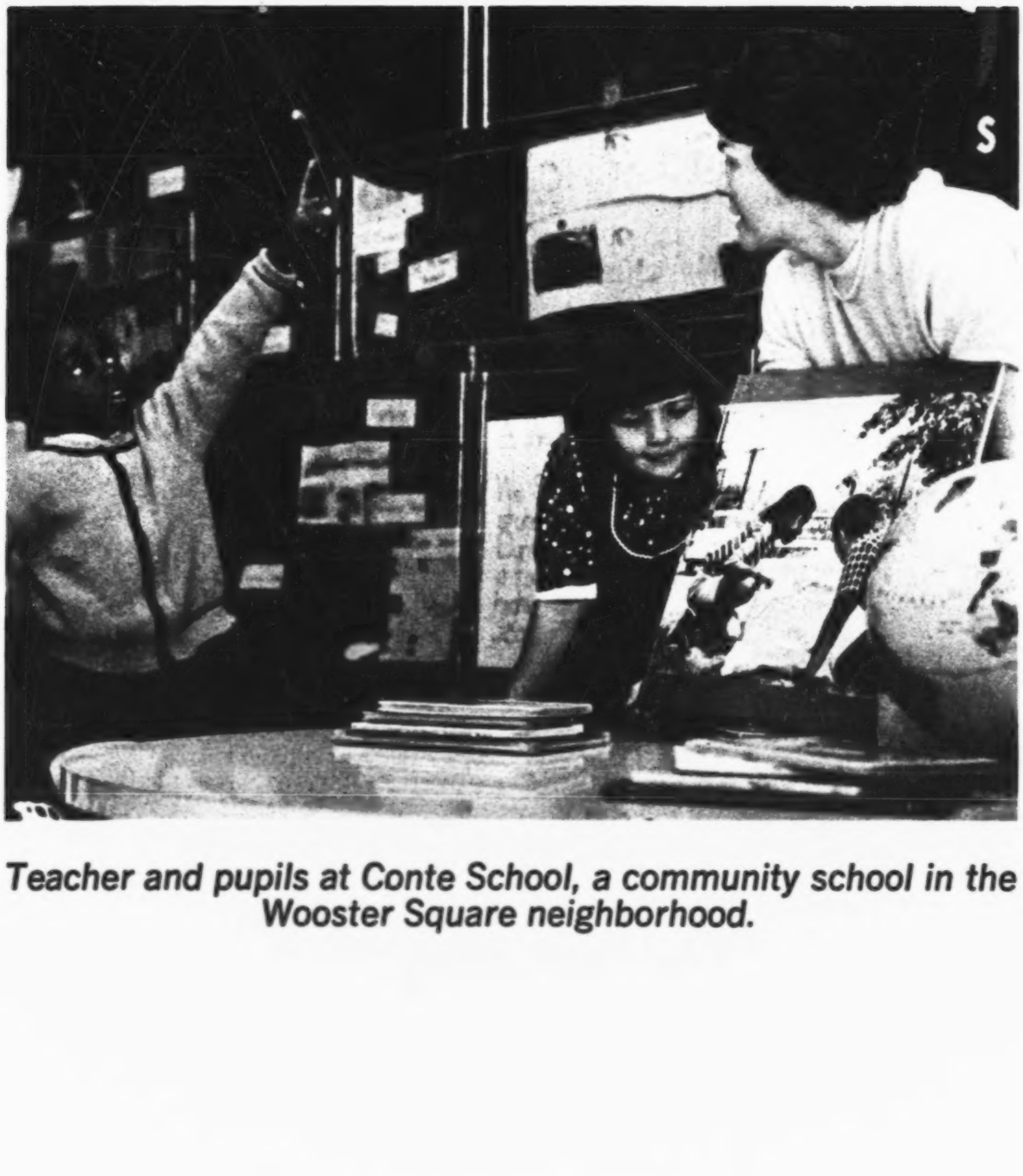
About to go into operation is a gigantic Skill Center, converted from a warehouse into a place for education and job training. Work crews will have their remedial classes there and there will be pre-kindergarten classes, machines and space for specific job-training programs operated by CPI and the Board of Education and State Vocational Education. It's CPI's answer to a problem which has bothered cities all over the country in getting training programs going: the lack of adequate space and appropriate facilities for training.

CPI needed programs that were less cumbersome to get into, easier to start, than the usual MDTA classroom training course. They needed programs for the hundreds of adults who were coming into the centers and asking for help. The got both of them. First they made on-the-job training (OJT) programs palatable to local employers. In an amendment to its contract with OMAT, CPI became the local middle man between the employers and the Federal Government. CPI became able to negotiate training contracts directly, eliminated the paperwork for the businessmen, created a short cut to federal approval of small (2-5 man) contracts, mounted programs quickly and got them under way in a matter of days. "This was the turning point," Bennett says. "When we got OJT for youth, we finally had a full range of services for kids."

The program as it works now in New Haven is popular with the youngsters (many of whom come directly off the work crews) who can go to work right away earning at least $1.50 an hour, or $60 a week. It works best with small businessmen who have been working with smaller staffs of employees than they want, but who can't mount a training program, wouldn't know where to begin one, can't afford to hire an unskilled worker at regular wages. The employer does the training, but CPI reimburses the employer for training at a rate up to $30 a week for up to six months. And CPI provides a field supervisor, who comes by every week to see how the trainees are getting along. The employers, then, are paid for taking on a man and training him, and at the end of the training period they have a skilled employee. CPI had no trouble getting nearly 50 youth OJT contracts signed and 30 men on the job within a few weeks after the program was set.

Training for Adults

The next step was a full range of services for adults. A $360,000 contract was signed in June, 1964, for the same kinds of recruiting, training, and counseling for adults that had been provided for youth. Adult OJT was functioning by September.



Teacher and pupils at Conte School, a community school in the Wooster Square neighborhood.

And by this time a renewal of the original youth services contract was signed. "One of the reasons this program is successful is that it isn't solely a youth program," Bennett says. "You can't isolate the problems of youth."

And of course the growth and direction of the Manpower program, the youth contracts and the adult contracts and the work crews, the search for flexibility and variety — all of it was a working way of saying you can't isolate the solutions either. Manpower's job was to make working sense out of the parts of programs that were available. And this job, in its first year and a half, has gone very well.

CPI Neighborhood Employment Center

If you live in one of the seven CPI Program neighborhoods, a CPI employment center is hard to miss. The building is typically bright, clean, fronted with plate glass so you can see what's going on inside, located in the middle of things.

One such center, which serves the Hill-Dwight neighborhoods, sits flanked by two alleys and across from two paint stores near a busy intersection on Washington Avenue. It's what the planners and redevelopment people call a mixed-use area; there are grocery stores, pool halls, residences all together here, with a big, dingy service station and garage across the street. It's just a few blocks from the brand new Macy's downtown, and the new parking garage, and some of the rest of the wonders of New Haven's physical renewal, but this neighborhood doesn't carry those signs of physical and economic change. It looks old, blighted, haphazard, disreputable, and dirty.

Inside the center, there is a waiting alcove with seats and a counter over which you can see several desks and people working at them, or around them, interviewing, talking to people.

Standing in the alcove with you is an attractive Negro woman, and you think she is there looking for a job or a training program until she turns to you and asks you, pleasantly, if she can help you. She smiles. She is the receptionist. It all seems very un-institutional.

Neighborhood Employment Worker

Put an employment center in a neighborhood where people need work, and some of them will beat a path to your door. Others, you have to go out and get. At this center, that's what Charlie Simmons does.

Charlie Simmons is 34 years old and looks 19. He is a Negro. He dresses neatly, wears glasses, and he can by instinct deal freely and effectively with people. He is one of the three neighborhood workers now working out of the Hill-Dwight Employment Center, and in many cases, the "process" starts with him. Charlie haunts the Hill-Dwight section. He is out on the streets, in the neighborhood groceries and school buildings and pool halls during most of the hours of his working day, and often in the evenings and on Saturdays and Sundays as well.

Before coming to work for CPI, Charlie worked for four years in a slaughterhouse. He was a good high school athlete, and he was hired when the Hill-Dwight Neighborhood Coordinator found him running a very popular weight-lifting club in the neighborhood and "managing" boys the neighborhood regarded as unmanageables. He sees his job as recruiting and follow-up, giving support and encouragement to his candidates, and getting the information the center needs to help them. He's most successful with boys, and he goes out every day to find them and bring them in.

"I see a guy across the street, I can sense he's a school dropout," Charlie says to his visitor, walking his beat, "I say, 'Hey! Come here!' He's got to come here because he doesn't know what I want. 'Aren't you in school? Where you workin' now? How old are you?' Right away I got the information I need. I know he's out of school, what he's doin', how old he is. If he's 16, 17, chances of his gettin' a job are real tight. About the only thing we got for him is the work crew. If he's older, got some kind of work experience maybe, we might have something better for him.

"He's one of the young ones, I tell him, 'Look, my man, you're not gettin' anywhere the way you're going', right?' I tell him I work at the Neighborhood Employment center down the street.

They've seen it. They know about us here. I say, 'Look, my man, this is what we can do for you.' I tell him about the work crew. He can make $20 a week, get some help with school, move on after a while to a regular job."

Charlie turns into a corner grocery — La Esquina Famosas — and walks up to a Puerto Rican woman sitting behind the meat counter. He tells her about some boys he has gotten into some English-tutoring classes. "You still lookin' out for me?" he asks. The woman tells him she knows a couple of boys who have dropped out; she's working on them to come into the Center. Charlie tells her if she doesn't have any luck, he'll go see them. He's studying Spanish himself, he says. He leaves. "I just got in good there a few days ago," he says.

Across the street a bus unloads a crowd of boys — ages about 12 to 18. They spot Charlie, wave at him, come across the street to talk. For the young ones he's rigged up a Saturday morning job picking apples. He tells them to come in to see him Friday to check on the time. The older boys he talks to one at a time, checking up on where they're working, how they're doing in school. A couple have made appointments at the Center and haven't kept them. Charlie wants to know why they haven't showed up. Both say they got jobs on their own, but they aren't good jobs and they're thinking of coming in sometime. "Come in Thursday morning," Charlie says. I'll be in Thursday morning. What time you going to be there, 9:30 or 10 o'clock?"

It goes on like this for seven, eight, then ten, eleven, twelve blocks. Charlie stops boys on the street, asks questions, gets commitments. He gets the information he needs, then quickly proposes one or another program to meet his potential recruit's needs.

Back near the Center, on the home stretch, he stops a good-looking, dark-skinned Negro dressed in a maroon loden jacket, suede shoes, a beret on the side of his head.

"Hey there, my man, I thought you were comin' in to see us the other day. How come you didn't"?

The boys smiles, shy, young, embarrassed. "I was plannin' on it," he says, "but I got this job, couldn' make it."

A remedial-reading class at Abraham Lincoln School.

A remedial-reading class at Abraham Lincoln School.

Charlie steps back to admire his outfit. "You're lookin' mighty sharp. What kind of job'd you get?"

"Over at the hospital, over at Yale," the boy says.

"What they got you doin' there?"

"I'm workin' in the kitchen. I run that dishwashin' machine. I'd like to get somethin' better, though. I was interested, what you told me before."

"How old are you?" Charlie asks. "About seventeen?"

The boy nods.

"How much school you get?"

The boy says he went through the 10th grade, in Georgia. He's been in town just a few weeks.

"You ever give any thought to goin' back to school? How do you feel about that?"

"Well," the boy says, "I'll put it to you like this. I'd like to go back, but I still got my mother down South, and I'd like to get her up here, make some money and get her up here before I try to go back to school. I mean, she could help me with a lot of things, like how to do with my money and how to save an' all. You know, I get it, I'm likely to spend it on a whole bunch of shirts and new pants and things like that." He looks down at his clothes. "I want to get her up here first, you know what I mean?"

"Sure," Charlie says. "I know. Hey, look, now let me ask you a question. Now what if you could do any kind of work you want to do, I mean any kind of work at all. What kind of thing'd you like to do?"

The boy puts his hand to his forehead, rubs it. "You got to give me time to think about that one," he says. "I never thought about that one."

"That's all right," Charlie says. "Take your time."

The boy thinks, finally shrugs hopelessly, smiles, shakes his head. "I don't know!" he says. "I don't know! I mean nobody ever asked me that one before."

"That's all right," Charlie tells him. "That's a tough one. Now I tell you what we can do for you. You come down to the Employment Center, and we got this test down there — hey, now, don't give me that kind of look, now, this isn't one of those school tests that tells how smart you are or anything like that. This is not any of that 80, 90, off-the-wall kind of stuff, this is the kind of test that tells you the things maybe you'd be good at doin'. Like maybe you'd make a good automobile mechanic — this test'll tell you that."

The boy had frowned at the mention of the test, but he is smiling again, now, and nodding.

"Look at it this way," Charlie is saying, "you don't know what you want to do. Right?"

"That's right," the boy says, "I don't know. That's right."

"Well then, okay, you come down to the Employment Center and maybe we can help you — at least maybe we can find out what you can do — maybe we can get you somethin' better than washin' dishes, anyway."

"I sure would like that," the boys says. "I'm interested. I mean when you told me about it before, I was interested but I didn't know exactly what it was, but now you explain it to me like this, I think I understand it better now."

"Okay, you come in tomorrow mornin'. You work tomorrow mornin'? No? Well, you come in about 9:30. You got an appointment at 9:30. You ask for Charlie. We'll take care of you, try to find out what you can do best, then see if we can't find somethin' for you."

"Okay," the boy says, "9:30. I'll be there at 9:30. I sure do appreciate it."

"That's all right," Charlie says, "You just come on in tomorrow morning and ask for Charlie."

Charlie starts off, but it is obvious the boy wants to say something, and Charlie hesitates, sensitive to his audience.

"I thought of something," the boy says, "I mean, you know, I thought of something I'd like to do."

"Go ahead," says Charlie. "What is it?"

"Well, you know, you said anything, and I just thought of one thing I'd like to do is like be one of them men that works on a train — you know?"

"What kind of a man on a train?"

"Don't know what you call —"

"A porter?" Charlie says, "A conductor?"

"No, like he rides up front in the engine," the boy says.

"Oh, you mean a fireman," Charlie says. "Well I don't know we going to be able to get anything like *that* for you — but . . ."

"No, I didn't mean that," the boy says, afraid for a minute he has put forth too outlandish a dream, "I mean you just said name *anything*, and I thought of somethin'. I mean I like to travel, you know, like to move around."

"That's all right," Charlie says, moving away. "We may not be able to get you anything like that, but you come down tomorrow, we're gonna find out what you can do, gonna get you somethin' better'n washing dishes, anyway."

The Disposition Conference

The disposition conference is the "heart of the employment center process." In fact, it is the time when the heart and the head of the employment center get together to decide what, in individual cases, the problems are, and what to do about them. The disposition conference is the balance point, the place where the widely different disciplines and personal views of the individual members and consultants of the employment center staff meet to thrash out, a candidate at a time, what the center can offer, what it should do.

Typically, the center's staff members (the neighborhood workers, the vocational counselors, the placement interviewers from the State Employment Service, the neighborhood coordinator) and consultants from the outside (a psychologist from Yale, a representative from an outside social agency, and perhaps a summer college interne) meet one afternoon a week, talk over perhaps four or five cases, and come up with alternatives. Then the candidates can choose for themselves, on a realistic basis, what they are going to do.

Results

At the Hill-Dwight Center, on one disposition-conference afternoon, these are some of the cases they considered, the problems they talked about, and the solutions they came up with.

Joe. A 17 year old Negro, recently come from the South. He graduated from high school down there, but his test scores

There is intimacy and warmth in the guidance process.

GATB) were all so low, the vocational counselor says they're useless as evidence of what he can do. He's shy, withdrawn, probably too anxious during the tests to make any kind of showing. Paradoxically, he says he wants to be a policeman. He's very sure about this. There is some talk about how the testing situation plays to the weaknesses rather than the strengths of boys like Joe, perhaps they should be given more personal support during the tests. What does he need? Realistic work experience — a job — a sense of ease. His only work experience so far has been washing dishes. Someone suggests the Army. If he can get into the MP's, what better training for police work? He can't become a policeman until he's 21 anyway. But can he get into the Army? Could he pass the tests? Perhaps he should go back down South where the competition among recruits isn't so high, and enlist there. Someone mentions there is a work crew foreman who used to be a policeman. Maybe Joe could start out on the work crew, and this foreman could get a realistic line on his abilities. It is decided to check out the military situation in New Haven, feel Joe out about that, and about the work crew possibility.

Result: Joe went on the work crew, and after a couple of months, is on a special work crew assignment, "attached" to the New Haven police department, where he does maintenance work. He is still pointing to become a policeman when he's 21.

Frank. 17 years old. Negro. Left school in Ohio to come to New Haven. Has completed the 10th grade. Family troubles given as the reason for leaving. He came into the center looking for a part-time job, but when he found out they didn't handle part-time jobs, he said he might be interested in a full-time job. The neighborhood worker thinks he is faking about the full-time job, thinks Frank is planning to go back to school in the Fall — in New Haven. The situation triggers a discussion about the need for part-time jobs for in-school youngsters. The neighborhood worker says lots of kids drop out because they're ashamed of the clothes they have to wear. "If they're on the ball," he says, "if they're really on the ball, they'll drop out to take the full-time jobs." The staff decides to find out whether Frank has made application to go to school in New Haven, whether he will in fact be going back to school in the Fall. What does he need? A "good series of counseling sessions." Someone to "paint the picture for him," make him aware of the job possibilities that may be open to him after he completes school.

Result: Frank is enrolled in one of the New Haven high schools.

The Process

Tom Flood, Neighborhood Coordinator and head of CPI's Hill-Dwight Center, had this to say:

"These kids have almost no idea at all about employment possibilities. They may know only one or two kinds of jobs. Somebody they know is a mechanic, somebody they know works in a stock room, that's what they want to do. They don't have any idea what their potential is, what they might be. I don't know whether New Haven is typical or not, but we're not running into any angry young men here. Our boys aren't angry at the world. They're not angry at what they've missed. They don't *know* what they've missed."

The neighborhood worker is the buffer, the softener, the explainer, the preparation man. He tells you he's not going to send you to a car wash; he's not going to get you a job washing dishes. He's interested in starting you on a permanent job, some kind of career. He's going to try to set up something for you that makes sense, and that takes a little time, he tells you. You're going to come back for two or three visits. And you tell him things: about yourself, your family, your experience with school, with a job, with the law.

If you have had some good work experience, if you don't seem to have any special problems other than that of temporary unemployment, you go directly from the neighborhood worker to the State Employment Service placement interviewer. ("The process isn't there for process' sake. If the guy doesn't need it, let's get him a job.")

But if you're a recent school dropout, you probably don't have a work history and you probably don't have a recommendation either. And you're going to have some trouble getting either one. For most of the candidates who come through the neighborhood centers the "process" is necessary, and the next step in the process is an appointment with a vocational counselor, three or four days after your initial talk with the neighborhood worker.

Vocational Counselor

Three or four days gives time for the vocational counselor to get together some information about you. The neighborhood worker will get your school record, visit your home, get whatever employer references you have, check on your police record, and give them to the vocation counselor. Three or four days later, when you talk to him, he has a lot to talk about. Your attitudes, your feelings about things, the kinds of jobs you might want to do and might be able to do.

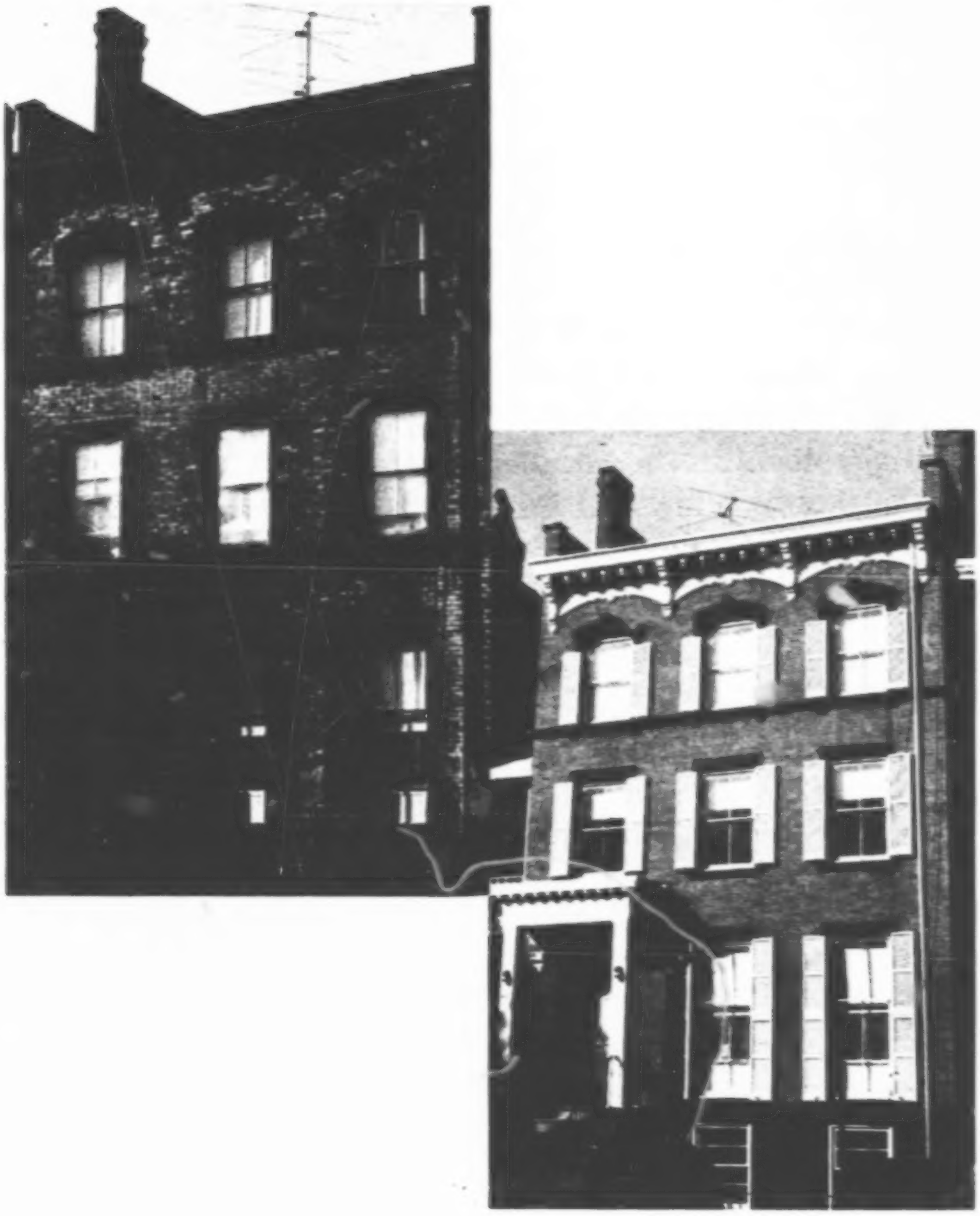
The vocational counselor has a line on you from your school, or your previous employer, or your home. He gets another line on you from you. He asks a lot of questions, and you talk.

Then you go to the State Employment Service placement interviewer, both to get some information about what jobs are actually around, and to give the interviewer an opportunity to form an opinion as to how you'd fit into the job market.

Then back to the vocational counselor. This time for pre-test orientation.

Testing

If you're like most of the youngsters in your neighborhood, tests haven't been among the successful experiences in your life. Generally, they have told you just how stupid, how unsuitable you are, just how badly you have failed. Naturally, you don't like tests. But the vocational counselor explains again to you that the staff needs the tests, not to grade you down, but to find out what you might be good at doing.



Housing rehabilitation at Wooster Square — the same house, before and after rehabilitation.

Once over that hump, there are others. The tests take two hours. That's a long time to sit in one place, particularly when you're there taking a test you don't like and following directions you're not sure you understand. But you accept the fact that you're going to take a test and that it's going to be two hours long.

You make another appointment, and you come back, with a group of other people, to take the test. The CPI Testing Specialist, who works closely with the State Employment Service, comes to the Center to administer it, so at least you're in familiar territory. A lot of the test (the General Aptitude Test Battery, or GATB) is physical-mechanical, some of it has to do with reading and understanding words, some with arithmetic. Along with the test administrator, one of the neighborhood workers, or perhaps the vocational counselor, will stay in the room, or check in from time to time, to make sure no one has given up ("Sometimes the kids'll just stop — give up. These aren't the kind of kids who're going to raise their hands to ask a question — and one of us will go over to him and maybe pick up the pencil and put it in his hand, and he'll start in again. The test isn't any good to us, it doesn't tell us anything, if the kid doesn't *do* it. If he gets a zero on one section and he *tried* it, that's one thing; if he gave up on it, that's something else. The test is for us to see what a kid can *do*.")

When you finish the test, the vocational counselor tells you he's going to find out what he can from it, and then he and the rest of the Center staff are going to have a meeting about you, and decide what things you might be able to do well. Then they're going to tell you what they have discussed. And you can choose from there. ("We don't play God. We don't make the decisions for them.")

The Choices

After they have the meeting — a disposition conference — the vocational counselor talks to you so that you choose. He coaches you on how to go out for a job interview, and tells you in some cases it might be a good idea to get a haircut and wear a coat and tie. He gives you some practice in filling out an application blank. And they go to work trying to find the kind of job you could do and want to do. Or perhaps, by this time, you know enough to go out and find it yourself.

There are the work crews, to help get you ready for a regular job. And there are training programs, both institutional and on-the-job (CPI can get you in, on their recommendation, even though your test scores would ordinarily keep you out of training programs. Some boys, whose test scores would have kept them out, have gone through the training programs, graduated, and are now working regularly). But the choices aren't varied enough yet, and fitting a candidate with an opening is still difficult. What's needed now is more jobs, and more kinds of jobs.

"Right now," Tom Flood, the short, tough, sparkling man who runs the Hill-Dwight Center said recently, "right now we need a job developer in each office. He'd have to face us every day. He'd deal with the kids. If you have to face that kid coming into the office every day, you'll go out and get a job for him — not just any job, but a job for this particular kid." Flood's advice was not lost on the Central office — now there is a CPI job developer and OJT specialist in each center.

The Other Agencies

Before CPI came along, there were lots of people, lots of institutions directly involved in the business of getting New Haven's people, training, and jobs together. There were the unemployed, the employers, the schools, the departments and bureaus (vocational education, apprenticeship and training), the unions, the social agencies, and the state and private employment services. They were doing the job they had the money and the resources to do. They had the responsibility. They had experience. In order to operate effectively in employment, CPI had to earn relationships with them all.

To the problems CPI brought money, staff, energy, and an innovative spirit. To the agencies and individuals who had labored so long in the employment vineyard, CPI brought an open-handed invitation to participate in the new effort.

CPI's point of entry into the people-training-jobs triangle was the institutional training programs of the Manpower Development and Training Act. But, under MDTA, State Divisions of Vocational Education have the responsibility for deciding what's going to be in the training courses; and the State Employment Service is supposed to set them up, get out the forms, pay the stipends. CPI went directly to the employers, hunting jobs and possible programs, and encouraging representatives of vocational education and the employment service to participate in meetings, sending them minutes of the meetings, keeping them informed of progress, involving both of them in the decisions that were made.

At first, it was at times an uneasy coalition. Some of the old-line professionals, inevitably, resented CPI's moneyed intrusion into what had been exclusively their responsibility. "There was resentment," George Bennett says now, "because the ideas we were coming in with and getting credit for were not new. These people had these ideas long before. They knew what they had to do. They just never had the means to do it, and then here we come with all this money and all this action . . .

"But," Bennett says, "we were able to convince them we could help them do some things they previously couldn't do."

CPI just kept doing things. Contacting employers, setting up meetings, getting commitments for possible training programs. And they expressed a constant desire to work with the state and local agencies. Both vocational education and the employment service wanted programs, and CPI was helping to get them under way, recruiting candidates, and inviting agencies in on the action. Once they got involved, once they designed a program together in the format of the working committee, once it worked, much of the uneasiness disappeared. Then on to another program — employers, agencies, unions, CPI, vocational education, employment service, and local board of education.

When the employment centers opened, there was a Connecticut State Employment Service placement interviewer in each; in CPI's main Manpower office, there is a staff member assigned

Mayor Richard C. Lee visits an art class at Winchester Community School.

from the State Employment Service and another from the New Haven Board of Education. They work *with* CPI, but *for* the organizations that pay their salaries.

Labor Unions

The support of organized labor is felt in the presence on the Manpower staff of the President of New Haven's Central Labor Council, Vincent Sirabella. Having, as Bennett puts it, "the consulting services of the top labor official in the area" (at the suggestion of the Ford Foundation) overcomes what initial apprehension might be felt between CPI and the unions. But support is won on performance, and with the unions, as with the education and employment agencies, the key to performance has been involvement. Whenever a training program has gotten under way in an area in which they were concerned, the unions have been involved, through CPI, in setting it up. Here, as in other areas, CPI began with the unions most likely to cooperate, set up an initial atmosphere of success and mutual support. And many unions have made energetic and imaginative proposals on their own initiative.

Involvement of the Unemployed

With the people in the neighborhood, and with the employers, the technique has been much the same: involvement. The employment centers opened in the neighborhoods themselves, employed neighborhood people, treated people decently, showed a cheerful and receptive face, made themselves at home, delivered the jobs. CPI encouraged the employers to help Vocational Education design the training programs and got them involved as well in the trainee selection process.

There are still some minor problems of a professional nature. But in general, CPI has served the function of demonstrating that all the agencies, CPI included, are trying to move the same boat, and that it moves remarkably well when they all paddle together . . . with a slightly faster and somewhat inventive stroke.

CPI Innovations

There are innovations in CPI's approach to the employment problem. None of them is radical. Most are simply practical responses to practical problems, or matters of emphasis; in a sense, however, they describe CPI's Manpower approach, and its accomplishment.

The process itself — what happens when a candidate comes into the CPI employment center and what happens after that, and so on to job, and the follow-up after the candidate gets a job — is put together of pieces here, pieces there. It begins with a preliminary commitment from employers to hire inner city people, and hauls in federal funds and federal training programs, a wide mix of state and local influence and talent, and points at the widest possible array of avenues to a good job. It has been a hallmark of CPI Manpower that it covers the inadequacies of one program with the ingenious use of another, and that it brings about changes in programs, or serves as the model for entirely new legislation.

As a part of the process, CPI won the right to make some changes in the way tests are used. As it turned out, what was thought at first to be a formidable barrier (the Connecticut State Employment Service people were under the impression that the use of the tests could not be varied) dissolved into easy acquiescence at the federal level. CPI's candidates were, by definition, at a disadvantage, and CPI not only won the right to compensate for this disadvantage in selecting program trainees, but they helped pioneer a method for doing so. Significantly, they got employers to substitute practical performance standards for the more arbitrary high school diploma.

Building the Male Image

CPI programs concentrate on men rather than women. This is hardly an innovation, but it is an important characteristic of the CPI effort. There are training programs for women, but male trainees outnumber them three to one, and there is clear intent to build the image of the male in the inner city, where often, and particularly in Negro families, the women are the stable, productive figures, the men models of shiftlessness and futility.

4. EDUCATION IN ACTION

Change in New Haven Schools

A noted Connecticut educator once said, "I used to think of New Haven as a sleeping giant which was somehow tied down, and had never been awakened. I think now it finally has been awakened."

There are now about 21,000 students in New Haven's public schools; the number has not changed in the last ten years. But total enrollment is the only static thing about the New Haven schools during these ten years.

About 39 percent of the students now are Negroes. There are more Negro children, and fewer whites, than there used to be ten years ago; nobody knows exactly how many, because until recently it was considered discriminatory to count numbers of Negroes and whites in the schools, and figures were not kept. Present indications are that the increase is tapering off. But it is a new kind of student body.

The school system employs about 1100 teachers and other professional staff members (guidance counselors, administrators, etc.), or one educator for every 20 children. They are paid more now, both in absolute and relative terms, than they were ten years ago. In 1954, New Haven's school teachers were among the lowest paid in Connecticut. Now they are among the highest.

The increase in teacher salaries is the biggest single item in a general increase in educational spending in New Haven. In 1964, the city spent $494 for each student in the public schools, an increase of $225 per student over the 1954 figure, and the greatest increase of any major city in the state. All of this money increase has come from New Haven itself, not from outside sources. (The $625,000 that CPI put into the New Haven schools in 1963-64, for instance, is not included in this figure.)

BAY CITY
Another step forward in the New Haven Redevelopment Program
mayor Richard C Lee
chairman Matthew Ruoppolo
A NEW HOME FOR
COHEN & POWELL INC
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Ground is broken for a new structure in the Wooster Square areas as part of the city's urban-renewal program.

Rebuilding the Plant

Two new high schools went up in 1957-58. In 1960, the Board of Education decided to rebuild, over a ten-year period and with the aid of urban renewal, fully 40 percent of its schools: 11 elementary, 3 intermediate, and one more high school. Until this time, the school plant in New Haven was the most antique, dilapidated, and inadequate of that in any large city in the state. Only two schools — elementary schools — had been built since World War II. No others had been constructed since 1930.

Along with this wholesale physical renovation, the Board of Education committed itself to a change in organizational structure — from what was basically a 6-3-3- system to a 4-4-4- system.

Changes in Leadership and Programs

There have been changes in the composition of the student body, in the salaries paid teachers, in the amounts and proportions of public funds spent on public education, in the bricks and mortar and organizational pattern of the schools. And changes, too, in leadership. Mayor Richard C. Lee has appointed what was to become an unusually astute and unusually socially concerned Board of Education.* And in 1960, a new superintendent of schools was selected by the new Board of Education.

But, went the thinking, these were not enough changes. What was needed was more educational and other kinds of services, particularly for inner city children and adults. To focus the services, and weld them into a working design, a new kind of school was needed, aimed at the problems and the needs of the inner city. To finance them, new sources of revenue were also needed.

Since the 1962 Ford Foundation grant to New Haven, these changes have begun to come about. New Haven, with CPI as the community-action agency, has received funds for some fifteen new educational programs and handed them over to the Board of Education to administer. Seven inner city schools have begun the transformation into "community schools," with stretched-out school days and school years; and these have opened their doors to both children and adults on a 14-hour-a-day basis, year-around. In addition to serving their primary function of educating children, the community schools have also become centers where people can find a wide variety of help for their problems, from health to recreation and housing to employment, and they are also serving, as the communities discover themselves, as centers of community social and political life.

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*CPI Executive Director Mike Sviridoff served on the Board from 1955 to 1962 and was President the last two years of his term.

The specifics of the new educational effort in New Haven have just begun to take shape. Some of them seem to be successful, even in their infancy; most of them, at this point, are impossible to evaluate. But the face of education in New Haven has begun to turn toward the inner city, and there are some things that can be said about the shape and thrust and style of the movement.

The Community School

Behind the creation of New Haven's community schools is a conclusion about the past and a vision for the future. The conclusion is that the traditional school is not and cannot be sufficient for the urban population. Its traditions are mainly rural (the nine-month school year, for instance), and it assumes a homogeneous middle-class population.

The vision is that the schools, strategically the pivotal institutions in our society anyway, shall as true community schools take the lead in facing society's problems and focusing on its needs. This means more services and better organized services, and perhaps different kinds of services coming through the schools at a greater variety of times, in a greater variety of ways. It isn't part of the vision that the schools should supply all the wants of all the people. The vision is that the schools are to be the unifying force that will make "working sense" out of it all.

Conte School

Within five years there will be ten community schools — the ten that house the middle four years of the 4-4-4- system — in New Haven. Now there are seven. Just one of them — the Conte School — shows in its concrete face that it is the child of a new idea of what a school ought to be. It is a community school by design. It was built that way in 1962.

The Conte School is white, low, and rectangular, with a playground-courtyard inside the rectangle and a couple of playgrounds outside it. It covers two city blocks with playgrounds and four buildings, and includes 26 classrooms, a senior citizens' center, a school-community auditorium, a library, a swimming pool, and a gymnasium. During the normal school day, from eight to three, it belongs primarily to the children (kindergarten through eighth grade). After 3 o'clock and until 10 at night, it's everybody's school.

In another CPI program neighborhood and in sharp contrast to Conte, is an old (1905) brick box, boasting just 12 classrooms, called the Prince Street School. Of the seven community schools, Conte has the best facilities, Prince the worst. But Prince is also open from 8 in the morning until 10 at night, and adults come there as well as children, to learn to read and write, to play in the tiny, bandbox gym, to seek help for their problems and to take part in what is becoming the center of neighborhood life. They are both community schools in the making. They are both beginning to function.

Community School Programs

After-school programs vary with the needs of the neighborhood, and with the talents of the people running the programs. But if you count all the programs and all the people involved in all the schools, you find the edge at this time in recreation and social activities. The people want them, they are the cheapest to run, and a large number of people can be accommodated. Next in the order of magnitude are supplementary education programs (adult literacy, tutorials, pre-kindergarten, work-

Dwight School in one of New Haven's renewal areas, opened in March, 1965.

experience). Social services (visiting nurses, legal aid, family services, etc.) have been tough to organize through the schools because the social agencies are already choked with cases, but they are available on a limited basis. Citizen participation in the political process, with the school as a kind of community meeting place, has varied from neighborhood to neighborhood, but even in the unstable communities, where people haven't yet developed fully the habits of forming groups and joining organizations, they have begun to air their problems, speak for themselves in the informal settings of the literacy classes and sewing clubs.

The initial strategy has been to start where starting is most possible, with the programs that can be mounted quickly for the largest number of people with the available cash and personnel. The theory is that the first and most important thing is to get the school and the community in touch with each other. And so, in the second year of operation, estimates of the number of people involved in the various aspects of the community school program go as high as 15,000, and programs abount: among the week's offerings at Winchester Community School in the Dixwell area, for instance, you can find remedial reading, a children's theater, English practice for Spanish-speaking children, a meeting of the Dixwell Community Council, a story hour, oil painting (for senior citizens), and some 70 other offerings.

The Community School Team

The people who bring the new hours, the new disciplines, the new programs and people and problems into the school are the community school "team." They are the most important people, perhaps, in this infant stage of the transformation from traditional school to community school. Administratively, there is an assistant principal in charge of the extended-day activities, a group-work specialist, a recreation supervisor, and a CPI neighborhood coordinator. With them come a wide variety of workers, paid and volunteer, full-time and part-time. Yale students and Southern Connecticut College students come to tutor; neighborhood workers, themselves residents of the community, recruit for literacy programs, pre-kindergarten programs, and the like. Ballet teachers, workers-in-wood, 4-H club leaders, art instructors come to teach and organize. High school students (Future Teachers of America) come to play "reading games" with kindergarteners, or go out into the broad community to raise money for needed supplies.

Running it all, keeping it all together, the community school team must plug this influx of people and programs into an already complex machinery, and make it work. Eventually, if they are successful, they will blur the distinctions between the new and the old, and the new programs will not be appendages tacked on front and rear, but part of the central function of the schools.

Other Education Programs

In 1963, there were seven pre-kindergarten centers, serving 270 children and their parents; in 1964, eleven centers, 330 children and parents; and in 1965, 16 centers and 540 children and parents. The remedial reading program has used 13 reading specialists and a supervisor to reach 800 youngsters and 120 classroom teachers, so far, and remedial reading volunteers are being trained now to help more students on a one-to-one basis. The Higher Horizons program (exposure to a wide variety of experiences for youngsters with limited worlds — field trips, plays, concerts, etc.) extends to 75 classrooms, involves 2,000 children a year. A ninth-grade work-study program which began with 25 youngsters in one school has expanded to 150-200 in all four junior high schools; and about 1500 youngsters are in after-school tutorials and study centers. Adult literacy programs have enrolled 568 people in two years, and the free summer school (for grades 4-12) has enrolled 1,800 students who have come voluntarily, not for credits or make-up, but for learning. Further expansions of nearly all of these programs are expected with full implementation in New Haven of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. A lot has happened in slightly less than three years.

Newhallville Pre-Kindergarten Center

The scene is the basement of the Community Baptist Church in Newhallville, one of New Haven's rehabilitation areas. It's 9 a.m., a Tuesday morning; the teaching team — a young white woman and an older Negro woman — is busy setting out nursery things in the large, clean room: big hollow wooden blocks, small chairs and tables, an easel and cans of water-colors, a child-size kitchen with a small wooden stove and refrigerator, plastic dishes and real soap and water, some books, eight or nine attractive globs of purple dough, some colored string and colored beads. "This is the first day for the beads," the Negro teacher says, "You'll see a big crowd around the beads at first."

The children — mostly four-year-olds — come in ones and twos, and by 9:15 there are 15 of them. They'll stay until 11:30, and there will be another group for the afternoon session — in all, 30 children per center per day, four days per week. The parents come on the fifth day. To get them in the program, the teacher and the teacher's aide went around the neighborhood knocking on doors, telling people that the school was starting. Then they selected 30, trying to keep the numbers of boys and girls even. Now there's a waiting list of over 30, and the Board of Education is trying to set up another center in the neighborhood.

With the class 15 or 20 minutes under way (the teacher was right about the beads; 10 of the 15 children are busy stringing them), an attractive, gray-haired woman comes in from outside, takes off her coat and street shoes, laces on a pair of sneakers, and gets right into the action around the bead table. She's Jeannette Galambos, helping teacher for the New Haven pre-kindergarten program. She makes the circuit of eleven centers on a regular basis, gets to know the children, and helps the teachers with their problems.

"I try to make it very clear to the teacher that I've had every difficulty in the book myself — and fallen flat on my face — and maybe my experience can help us do something more for the children," she says.

Books are an obvious delight to youngsters at one of New Haven's neighborhood libraries.

The day is stringing beads, the day is building things out of blocks, the day is looking at slides projected on a wall and answering questions about them. ("Look. There's a boy, and someone is throwing a ball to him. Did he catch it?"). The day is talking to the three women and taking directions from them and making up songs. One little boy is particularly good at this one, and, free-form, he sings:

A house sitting in the water,
And the house sink down
In the bottom of the water
Sink.

"That's a good song," Mrs. Galambos tells him.

"The house sink down in the water," he says.

"Yes," she answers. "I understood that."

"Four-year-olds tend either to speechlessness or over-aggression," Mrs. Galambos says later, over coffee, "but with these children, the extremes are farther apart. They're more speechless, more aggressive." She is a professional nursery school teacher who taught the 10-week pilot project that led off the New Haven program, was well enough known in teaching circles in Washington to have been offered the job of teaching Caroline Kennedy before her doctor-husband's work brought them to New Haven.

What is the difference between these children and other four-year-olds? "They haven't had materials to handle, to play with," she says. "They come into the room, and they see these things, and they want to play with them, and they don't know how. And all of them have trouble with vocabulary, and using words with skill." As she talks, you remember two Negro girls, twins, energetic, aggressive, distracted, yelling an undecipherable language. "Generally," Mrs. Galambos goes on, "these children don't make intellectual distinctions; they're not interested in asking 'why?' It hasn't paid off for them to ask questions like that."

What do the pre-kindergartens accomplish? "Well, for one thing, we teach them that it's not all right to bite and kick and scratch the teacher," she says, smiling. "That's an important lesson. The aggressive ones learn to control themselves, and the withdrawn ones learn that it's all right to be a little independent. They learn to talk. They learn about words. Look, I don't know for a fact that an IQ can change in a pre-kindergarten class. But I know for a fact that a lot of wonderful things happen. I know a lot of those children change from feeling inadequate to feeling adequate."

Style Wear Adult Center

The scene is the Style Wear Manufacturing Company (pajamas) in New Haven. The whistle blows at 4:30 p.m., and four women, a paid teacher and three trained volunteers, enter the factory building and head for the lunchroom, where some 30 women — workers in the factory — are gathering for literacy classes. This happens twice a week, from 4:30 to 5:30, and of the 12 adult literacy centers in New Haven, this one has the best record of attendance. Impetus for setting up the class here came from the factory owner, who thought it would be a good thing for his workers. He provides the lunchrooms and refreshments. The women workers are divided into three levels — beginners, intermediate, and advanced. English is the second language for some of them.

Helen Pinzi runs the adult literacy program for the New Haven Board of Education. She speaks Italian and Spanish as well as English, and she had to use all three to explain the program the first time she came to the pajama factory.

What do they teach in the classes? The alphabet. How to write your name. Simple words and sentences. How to fill out an application. How to take a test. How to become a voter. Sometimes a student will enroll for a specific purpose, like learning to write his name, and when he accomplishes his purpose, he quits. But most have longer-range goals.

The class at Style Wear is the only one held in a factory. The other 11 are in community schools, libraries, the YWCA, YMCA, and CPI offices. Helen Pinzi is especially fond of her factory class. It's one of the most successful, she says; there's no attendance problem, and recruiting was easy.

In the program as a whole, recruiting has been the toughest nut to crack. People are ashamed of being illiterate, reluctant to volunteer for programs that smack of being remedial. But the churches and welfare agencies have helped, and once people have come into the program, attendance has been good. There are 12 paid teachers to work with them, one for each center, and some 85 volunteers.

"We haven't stopped since we started," Helen Pinzi says, "since June of 1963. We can't afford to stop. Right here in New Haven, we have 20,000 functional illiterates — people with a seventh grade education or less — and 8,000 true illiterates. Eight thousand people right here in New Haven who can't read or write at all."

New Ideas, Efforts, and Experiences

Bill Robinson, assistant principal at Prince Street Community School, tells about the high school youngsters who found out something exciting was going on at Prince, came down to look for a way to help, and went out and raised $120 for school supplies. Jeannette Galambos of the pre-kindergarten program remembers the "sidewalk boy," a four-year-old who never said more than a word or two in school, but released a whole torrent of language once he got out on the sidewalk where he had grown up, and she remembers the hostile, suspicious mother who brought an equally hostile four-year-old to school:

"The first day he was there, he was attacking somebody, I believe, and I picked him up. We were at the head of a flight of stairs, and his struggling threw me off balance, and we fell down the whole flight of stairs together. That was the beginning of a long relationship that was just about that stormy. One day his mother found out somehow that he had been misbehaving in school, and when she did, she was furiously angry with him, angry at me, too. She beat him a lot at home, and she told me I could have her permission to beat him. I told her there were other ways, that I'd never beat him, and she just laughed at me and said, 'Well, I'll beat him at home then.'

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APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING
STATE DEPARTMENT of EDUCATION
VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Mayor Lee cuts ribbon to open CPI-sponsored employment center in the Dwight area.

"But one day the mother came in to get him as I was helping him put on his coat to go home, and the mother said, 'Did you notice I washed his hair? I didn't want his hair to stink, because I notice you hug him. I told my husband you hug him, and he didn't believe me. I told him you like him, and my husband said he couldn't believe that.'

"A few weeks later, I was walking through the neighborhood, going to see the parents of my children, and the mother called from a window and invited me into her house, and gave me some Kool-Aid. She was very kind, very gentle, and she said to me, 'I know you're tired, I can see you're tired. I want you to know you can come here and rest, any time of the day or night'."

Drum Corps

In another neighborhood, Jerry Barberesi, Bill Robinson's counterpart at Conte Community School, likes to tell about the drum corps that got started, and the unwashed, uncoordinated misfit that wanted to join up.

"This is a white boy," Barbaresi said, "but his family is worse off than any Negro family in the neighborhood. He was never taught to wash, I guess, and when he'd come into the classroom, he'd stink so much the other kids'd hold their fingers to their noses. We tried to work with him, get him to clean up, but he didn't seem to care about anything enough to make the effort. He was alone; he didn't have any friends, didn't seem to want any. We even tried to work through his parents, but they didn't seem to care either.

"But we got this drum corps started, and before you know it, the teachers are making capes, the whole school gets pretty wound up about it, and this kid comes up to me and asks if he can join. If you don't know him, you don't know what this means. He never asked to join anything before.

"Well, I gave him the big bass drum. He never could stay in step, he never could get the drum right, but he was proud as hell, and the first time he marched his mother came over with three or four kids to watch him.

"He stopped in the office the other day, and he was carrying a book. You know what it was? **How to Win Friends and Influence People.** 'I'm workin' on it,' he tells me."

Impact on the School System

A New Haven school official leaned back in his chair. "We've been involved here in the transformation of a school system," he said, "and that is a very difficult thing. I've often had cause, during the past two years, to remember what a former New Jersey Commissioner of Education told me. 'He who would change a school,' he said, must learn to grow trees'."

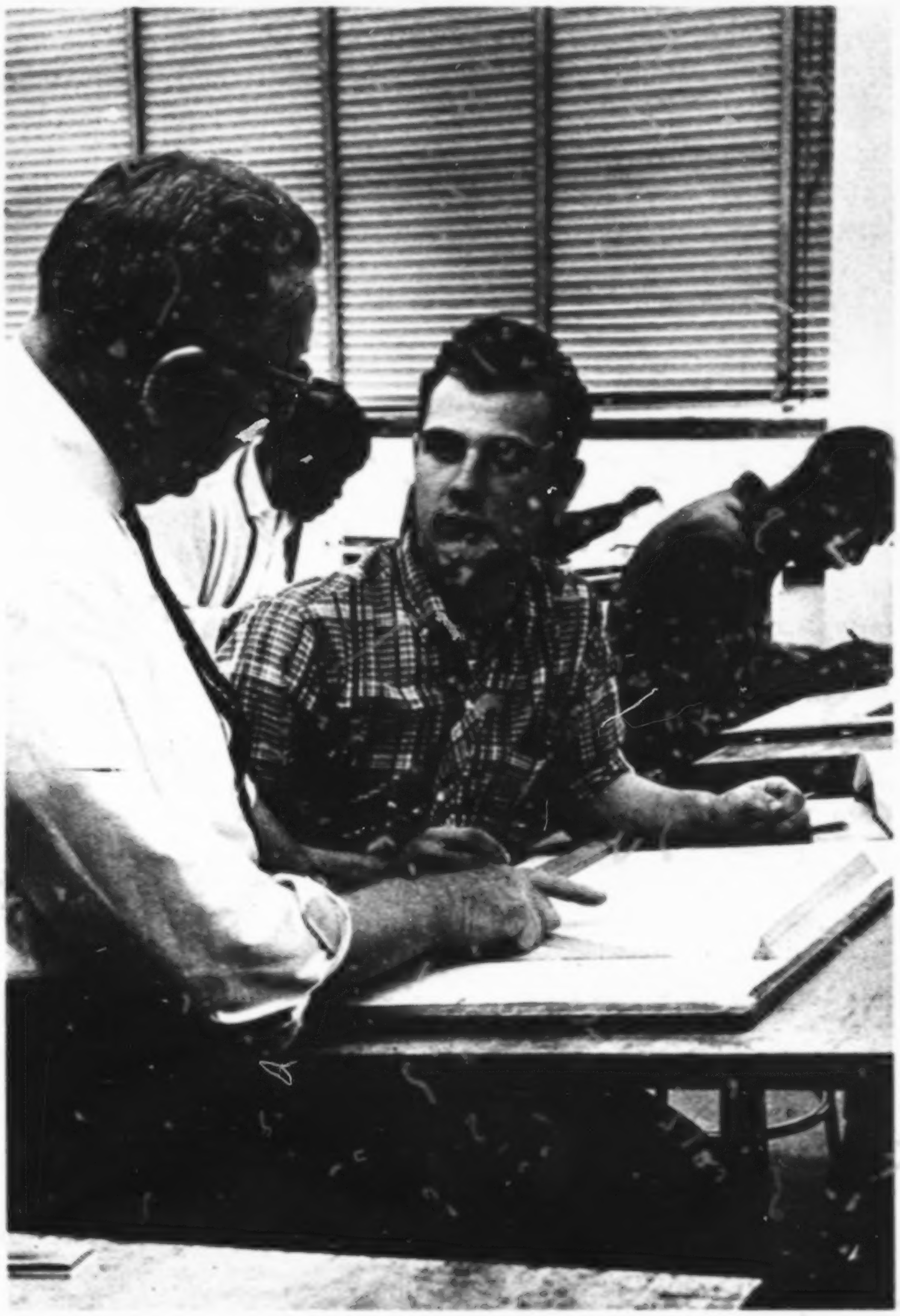
The change in New Haven's educational system has been complex, many-faceted. The school day and the school year have stretched out, and new people are in the schools, both to serve and to be served. New things are going on in the schools, both during the traditional school day and afterwards. The curriculum includes work-study now, and there is an "individualized" curriculum at one junior high school. The high schools have done away with "tracking," the rigid classification of students as "college prep" or "business" or "industrial arts," and the limiting of their courses to these areas. New materials are being created as tools for working with the new school population.

None of these changes is unique to New Haven. All are ideas that have been tried, in varying form, in other cities. But in New Haven, they have all come about the same time. Because they have come rapidly and have been pressed energetically, and because many of the changes are dramatic, they have not been greeted with universal approval within the community. Some New Haveners have sincere doubts about the value of some of the innovations. Others — and these are a minority — just resist change. The innovations quite understandably have brought additional demands upon the schools and other agencies, and have caused all hands to work with new energy and with new patterns of cloth.

One example of enthusiastic acceptance of change is found in the ninth grade work-study program set up in Bassett Junior High School. There, 25 potential dropouts [redacted]ttendance records, poor grades) from low-income families were selected for a program in which they go to school four hours a day, and work another four in school-system jobs as custodial aides, library aides, cafeteria aides. They make from 85 cents to $1.00 an hour.

The custodians' union was expected to resist, and at first it did. But then it was carefully explained that the program was not meant to train future custodial workers, but to give the youngsters work-experience and make it financially possible for them to stay in school. It was put to the custodians as their opportunity to participate in the educational effort of the schools. They took hold of the program as though they had invented it. They insisted on a graduated pay scale, so the youngsters would learn that persistence and good performance paid off. They designed the work programs, keeping the boys away from the dangerous jobs. The custodians wanted organized labor to take part in some of the 25-minute-a-day guidance sessions that were built into the program, and they built them in. Now the custodians, instead of resisting the program, instead of resisting the imposition of new training duties, are clamoring for more aides, and every principal involved in the operation has asked that it be continued. From the youngsters' points of view, the program has been a success. It has become a mark of status to belong to the program, and the waiting list is long. All but one of the first 25 ninth-graders have gone on to enter the tenth grade, and CPI has received federal money under the Economic Opportunity Act to extend the program into both high schools and the other junior high schools.

Up and down the line, it is a problem of involvement. Ask Jerry Barberesi or Bill Robinson what the key is to making a community school work, and they both answer, in only slightly different language. "You've got to get involved with the people."



A youth is trained in drafting as part of a special program conducted by CPI in conjunction with Olin-Mathieson Corp. and Lycoming Division of the Avco Corp.

Ask Ralph Goglia, who runs the community-school program from an office at the Board of Education, what his key to success is, and he says, "Getting the teachers involved in the program."

Involvement, of course, is what the community school is all about. It is, first of all, aimed at breaking down walls of isolation between the school and the community, and part of its method is breaking down the same kinds of walls between disciplines; between, for instance, social workers and social studies teachers. Breaking down walls is a scary business, and it breeds resistance. Involvement, when it means reciprocal commitments between a community and its school, is a difficult, uncomfortable thing to arrange — it is, however, the point of the rapid changes in New Haven's schools during the last three years.

Evaluation

What works and what doesn't? What's good and what's bad? How do you tell? In education, those are tough questions to answer, and less than three years is hardly the kind of perspective you need to make evaluative judgments. The adult literacy program has involved 568 people — some came just to learn to write their names, others to tackle the whole business of reading and writing. In that context, how do you define success, much less measure it? The pre-kindergarten programs are the chief hope of most big-city educators; they seem to promise the greatest opportunity to produce the greatest influence on children at the most favorable age. In each of New Haven's inner city neighborhoods, there are demands from the parents for more pre-kindergarten centers, and so parents seem to feel it is a good thing as well. But exact measures are hard to construct, and except for the kinds of impressions the teachers have to relate, progress is a difficult thing to measure or document. Twenty-four youngsters who otherwise might have dropped out of school at 16 have passed over that hump and are plugging away at the 10th grade. Now, after the first grading period in high school, their grades still are not good. Is that success or failure?

CPI is not a research organization, and changes have not occurred in New Haven for research purposes. CPI is an action organization, and action is what it has to show for its three years of effort. None of the traditional and formal instruments of program evaluation apply. At the present time, most of the evidence in the educational area is fluid and impressionistic: Programs under way, people in programs, a change in curriculum and in the materials people use as instruments of learning, hundreds of stories, mostly of success in some form, sometimes of failure, the schools paying attention to the education and the life of the community in a way they were never able to do before.

Community Progress, Inc. has acted as the spark-plug for New Haven's war on poverty. Now that the recent passage of federal anti-poverty legislation has given the signal for cities and towns across the country to start their own wars against poverty, New Haven's program can serve as a tested campaign technique that produces results. The methods, innovations, and general style of the New Haven effort can serve only as guidelines. Each community starting a war on poverty must come up with the action needed for success in its own city or town.

Under the new act, with any luck at all (plus organizational skill), many cities should be able to skip New Haven's introductory stage altogether, but an intelligent review of the CPI experience will suggest action — action that works. New Haven has begun to "make it" and experience does count. The first battles in the war on poverty have been won in New Haven.

CONCLUSION – AND BEGINNING

A little over two years of action in New Haven, born into a climate of readiness and change. There is a lot of success here, a lot of significant action. The community school — a concept in the minds of forward-looking educators for a great many years — is a reality in New Haven. Professionals of all stripes are working together with non-professionals to attack problems of life in the city that none of them, working alone, could begin to dent. And the revitalizing force hasn't affected only the poor.

The community action program in New Haven, organized and perpetuated through CPI, has brought new vitality to the labor unions, to the school structure and the business community and the social agencies, and to Yale University as well.

But even with a dynamic mayor, a rebuilding city, strong leadership from the ranks of education and labor and business and social work and money from Ford, it hasn't been accomplished without pain and resistance. New Haven, is, after all, like other cities, full of human beings.

Some New Haven teachers and social workers, for instance, have resented the invasion of a new force of "non-professionals" into what had previously been the professionals' exclusive battleground. Some of them have objected, publicly and privately, to the new demands made upon their time and consciences. It isn't easy to make a community school.

A variety of other citizens, government officials and people who have been concerned with aspects of life in New Haven, have in the same way, resisted the movement, resisted the change of working style that CPI represents. Who, after all, are these newcomers? What right, what qualifications do they have to change the educational process, the employment process, the practices of the social work profession?

There is the kind of resistance that springs from the established, comfortable ennui of one sort of bureaucracy or another. There is the kind of resistance which has its roots in race prejudice, or in the vague fear that the CPI program is somehow a plot to turn over the city to the Negro, that it is somehow anti-white. And there is the natural kind of resistance to change aroused in the conservative citizen who wonders just how much of all this new activity can really be good for New Haven, and worries that perhaps it is all moving just a little bit too fast.

There are, on the other hand, critics of the CPI program who claim that social change in New Haven is too "managed," too top-down in its administration, that the unique coalition of forces which made possible the success of CPI will make it impossible for the poor ever to have a strong voice in its direction.

But the biggest tangle of resistance to CPI's efforts is the size and complexity of the problem itself. Poverty, the lack of opportunity, the lack of ability to seize opportunity when it's offered — these are complex things which seem more enormous and complex once you begin to face and work on them. And so, in the midst of New Haven's successes, in the midst of the swinging, confident atmosphere of CPI, you can find — on the CPI staff itself — some of the program's most concerned and acute critics. Sviridoff is fond of quoting the observer who, after studying the CPI program, said, "If you had a scale of 0 to 100 to measure how far along they are in New Haven, they'd be at about the '20' mark with 80 points to go . . . but even at '80' New Haven is years ahead of most American cities."

A beginning in New Haven. What are its lessons?

¶ "Community action" can happen. The community school is wide awake and breathing here, at all hours of the day and night. There are programs under way in education, job-training, recreation, health, legal aid — full-scale programs — and they have sprung up in slightly more than two years.

¶ A wide variety of people, with different kinds of training, can be useful, on a variety of levels, to such a program, perhaps even necessary to it. At the top, there is the coalition of forces that made it possible in the first place. In the field, a talented mix of professionals and "people with a touch" making it work on a day to day basis.

¶ Such an organization cannot limit itself to one kind of operation, or one source of funds. One of the most impressive things about CPI is the way in which is has been able to combine a variety of programs, supported by a variety of federal and private sources, into a series of processes that make working sense for the people being served.

¶ The people who are going to be called on to put a program over, to support it or even to cooperate with it had better be involved from the beginning in putting it together.

And three more lessons, though they don't by any means exhaust the list.

¶ Success breeds success, a going program attracts talented, enthusiastic people, and those people tend to insure successful programs and the commitment of additional money and more talented people and on ad infinitum.

¶ Planning and operations can and perhaps should be lodged together.

¶ The emphasis must be on "opportunity-connected" programs, employment and education, and upon bending the system to such a degree that it provides a way up for people who have been sitting at the bottom of the ladder for many years.

Opportunities *have* opened up in New Haven; people have begun to climb the ladder. Who would have guessed, fifteen years ago, that it would have happened here?

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